Daily Report

Central Eurasia

FBIS-SOV-93-095
Wednesday
19 May 1993

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FBIS-SOV-93-095 *19 May 1993*

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Armenia, Azerbaijan, Karabakh View Tripartite Peace Plan

Plan Submitted to Yerevan, Karabakh

NC1805151993 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1400 GMT 18 May 93

[Text] On behalf of the Russian Foreign Ministry, the Russian Ambassador to Armenia Vladimir Stupishin handed in the (?package) of revised proposals prepared by the three countries—Russia, the United States, and Turkey—and by the CSCE's Minsk group to Davit Shakhnazaryan, the Armenian president's ambassador on special missions, on 18 May. The revised proposals aim at finding a peaceful resolution to the Karabakh conflict and implementing UN Security Council Resolution 822 in its (?entirety).

On the same day, the Russian ambassador also handed a similar document to the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic's representative in Armenia.

Azerbaijan To Examine Plan

NC1805123393 Baku TURAN in English 0938 GMT 18 May 93

[Text] Baku, May 18 (TURAN)—Today the USA, Turkey and Russia ambassadors handed the text of the additions to trilateral peaceful initiative to the State Secretary Ali Karimov. As it is known, these additions were accepted during the consultations of the representatives of the USA, Russia and Turkey in Moscow on 14-15 May.

The leader of the Press-Service of the President of Azerbaijan Arif Aliyev said yesterday at the briefing, that Azerbaijan would express its attitude towards the additions to the trilateral initiative after its detailed examination.

As TURAN Agency was informed, this document handed to the state secretary by the ambassadors, presents the schedule of urgent measures on the withdrawal of Armenian forces from Kelbadzharskiy Region. This document also provides the time-table of further actions of the sides on stopping the fire and resuming the talks in Geneva by the formula 5+1. The aim of meeting in Geneva is to coordinate the schedule of the final fire stopping, place of observers, to overcome obstacles for transport communications functioning.

In the middle of June the meeting of Minsk group in Rome to adopt the arrangements, achieved in the talks in Geneva is to take place.

The Minsk conference CSCE of Nagorno-Karabakh is to start work on 21 June.

Schedule of Revised Plan Reported

NC1805162593 Baku ASSA-IRADA in English 1513 GMT 18 May 93

[Text] Baku 18.05.93 (ASSA-IRADA)—For realisation of the UN Security Resolution Council's N822 (93) binding for the parties which are in conflict the specified schedule of urgent measures proposed by the representatives of the USA, Turkey and Russia ASSA-IRADA was told at the Foreign Ministry of Azerbaijan. According to this schedule the following steps are envisaged: Each party signs the proposed schedule. On May 27 the statement on intention of implementation of complete withdrawal of Armenian troops from Kelbadzharskiy beginning since May 29 at 00.01 of local time. On June 1 since 00.01 of local time the hostilities are to be ceased in all zones of the conflict for 60 days. On June 3 the withdrawal of troops from Kelbadzharskiy is to be over by 23.59 of local time. The meeting of Minsk group in Rome is planned for June 14-15.

Plan Contradicts UN Resolution

NC1805133893 Yerevan SNARK in English 1139 GMT 18 May 93

[Text] Yerevan, 18 May (SNARK)—SNARK news agency has been informed of the certain details of the new peace-making initiatives on the Karabakh problem worked out by the Russian, Turkish and the USA representatives on May 14-15 in Moscow and suggested to the authorities of Azerbaijan, Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh. New variant of the peacemaking plan consists of the schedules of the conflict regulation in the terms from May 26 (the sides should sign the plan) till June 14-15 (the beginning of the Minsk group consultations in Rome). The schedule presupposes the withdrawal of the troops from the Kelbadzharskiy Region in the period from May 29 till June 3 and the distribution of the group of CSCE observers, cease fire and military actions. The plan doesn't mention the necessity for simultaneous cease of the fuel-energetic blockade of Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh from the Azerbaijani Turkish sides. This fact contradicts to the 822 Resolution of the UN Security Council and will torpedo the efficiency of the current peace initiatives. The observers have also mentioned that Turkey is kept out of the peace-making process. No official response to the new plan from Yerevan and Stepanakert.

NATO States Endorse Baltic Bid To Speed Russian Withdrawal

WS1305141793 Tallinn BNS in English 2018 GMT 12 May 93

[Text] Riga, May 12, BNS—NATO member-states for the first time unequivocally endorsed the Baltic's claim to speed up the Russian troop withdrawal from the Baltic region.

The statement came during a Warsaw seminar of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly May 4-7.

Unlike its Baltic sisters, Lithuania voiced no claims regarding the process of the Russian troops withdrawal. The Latvian delegation alleged that it is connected with Moscow, trying to use the new Lithuanian government as a wedge to hamper the army pullout from the Baltics.

The Latvian delegation says there are different attitudes among Western countries regarding the troops withdrawal. Sweden demands a complete and speedy withdrawal, while Germany urges observers to take into account interests of Russia as a major power.

In addition, the NATO seminar discussed the situation in the Kaliningrad region for military purposes in the future.

The Russian delegation to the seminar says that with favorable conditions for the development of democracy in Russia, the number of army divisions in the Kaliningrad region might be cut to one division instead of the present four.

Participants to the seminar categorically refused to accept Poland to the European Community and NATO.

Latvia was represented to the seminar by MPs Michail Stepichev, Peteris Simsons and Janis Krumins.

Black Sea Admiral Says NATO 'Probing' Area

LD1805125593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1108 GMT 18 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunaiski]

[Text] Moscow May 18 TASS—The latest NATO activities in the Black Sea make it clear that the North Atlantic alliance is probing its permanent presence in the region, according to Admiral Eduard Baltin, commander of the Black Sea Fleet who added that his navy continues to dominate the region despite a Russian-Ukrainian dispute over it.

To control navigation along the Danube the Americans sent "Orion" type reconnaissance planes. For the same purpose NATO is sending escort boats based in Burgas and Constanza. At the end of last year NATO warships entered the Black Sea eight times which is a record number. The US "Kauffman" warship stayed for a record-long period in the sea last April.

"Any strategist possessing such information can arrive to a conclusion that NATO countries are probing their permanent presence in our region, the first stage of which is carried out as peace-keeping operations upon the mandate of international organisations", the press service of the Black Sea Fleet quoting Baltin as saying to reporters in Sevastopol.

The Black Sea Fleet remains an element of the balance of forces in the region and a part of the deterrence system, Baltin said. According to its characteristics, combat readiness and training level the Navy dominates the fleets of all other Black Sea zone countries and Turkey, in particular.

Baltin denied statements that the Turkish fleet is stronger that the Black Sea one. Turkey will need 5-10 years to catch up in case the present-day characteristics of the Black Sea Fleet are preserved, according to the admiral.

However, if the fleet is split by Russia and Ukraine, Turkey will need less time for the purpose, Baltin added.

The admiral said that his fleet and the Ukrainian Navy maintain "businesslike relations" although there are no legal documents determining them.

CIS Laser, Other Equipment Exhibition Held in Finland

PM1205152893 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 10 May 93

[By Dmitriy Kiselev; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Kiselev voice over video of hand holding miniature device] In my hands is a miniature laser device. There is simply nothing similar of this size in existence in the world. If this tiny object is attached to the muzzle of a pistol or rifle then a red dot will show with absolute accuracy where the bullet will go. Nonetheless this microlaser is useless by comparison with the once secret optical systems which are of such interest to Western generals.

[Unidentified foreign officer] It works very well.

[Kiselev] That was the first response to the Optika-93 exhibition organized by the Koneisto company, which represents Russian state capital in Finland. Under its umbrella, so to speak, Koneisto invited to its exhibition in Finland 48 defense enterprises of Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Armenia, Uzbekistan, and Azerbaijan. You recall the showy arms fair in Abu Dhabi. Here there is something similar—but for Europe, and without noise—but on the other hand it is selling what only a month ago was absolutely secret. From amazing periscopes and laser sights to night vision devices and binoculars which produce a static image, even if you use these binoculars in the cabin of a bumpy jeep.

[Lieutenant General R. Isokaynen, speaking in Finnish with Russian voice-over translation supplied by Kiselev] Technology of the top world class, and very practical.

[I. Kornitskiy, president of an electronic optical machine building concern] We in the defense industry are only for reform and we see a future, a big future so to speak in this reform.

[Kiselev] The interest which has been generated by the Helsinki version of Abu Dhabi attests that Finland remains for us a window into Europe and indeed not only Europe.

[V. Mesropov, chairman of Koneisto] We are expecting representatives from Austria, Portugal, Britain, Germany, Pakistan, even the Philippines]. [Video shows visitors examining various exhibits, interviewees.]

Canada Donates $2 Million to Baltic States for Medical Aid

WS1705094293 Tallinn BNS in English 1218 GMT 15 May 93

[Text] Vilnius, May 14, BNS—The Canadian government will donate 2 million dollars to Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, the embassy of Canada in Denmark reported.

The money will be used to purchase medicine and medical equipment for the three Baltic states. A greater part of the donation will be used for medical treatment of children.

Russia's Grachev Discusses Troop Withdrawal From Baltics

Arrives in Vilnius

LD1805165793 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1600 GMT 18 May 93

[Text] Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev arrived today on an official visit to Lithuania—his first visit to the Baltic states. Pavel Grachev was met at Vilnius Airport by National Defense Minister Audrius Butkevicius and other heads of the ministry.

The Russian defense minister was received today by Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas, and also met in Vilnius with the Latvian and Estonian defense ministers, Talavs Jundzis and Hain Rebas. Issues concerning the withdrawal of troops from these states were discussed.

This afternoon Pavel Grachev left for Kaunas. He visited enterprises repairing tanks and helicopters. The minister also met with the leadership of the North Western Group of Armed Forces, which includes units of the Russian Army deployed in Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and in Kaliningrad Oblast. Previously this group was called the Baltic Military District.

A meeting between Pavel Grachev and Lithuanian Minister of National Defense Audrius Butkevicius is planned for later today.

Meets Lithuanian President

LD1805145993 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1400 GMT 18 May 93

[Text] As we reported, Russian Minister of Defense General Pavel Grachev, is visiting Lithuania. Today he met with Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas.

According to the president's adviser on foreign policy, Justas Paleckis, the meeting took place in a cordial and friendly atmosphere. The Russian defense minister conveyed to the Lithuanian president greetings from Russian President Boris Yeltsin. The Russian president expressed, through the defense minister, his wish that the withdrawal of the Army take place in accordance with the timetable, but with certain conditions.

The Russian defense minister described the aims of his visit to Lithuania, which he expected to discuss. The main issue of the withdrawal of the Russian Army from Lithuania was extensively discussed during the talk. It was noted that both Lithuania and Russia have been accomplishing a great deal in this matter, although there are many difficulties. Pavel Grachev noted that the majority of the units have been withdrawn; less than a half of them still remain. But there are many technical difficulties in the Army's withdrawal. President Brazauskas stressed that the Russian Army must be withdrawn in accordance with the timetable.

Notes Brazauskas 'Positive' on Withdrawal

LD1805175993 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 18 May 93

[By S. Sokolova from Lithuania, including recording of remarks made to journalists by Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev arrived in the Lithuanian Republic on an official visit today. The main purpose of his visit is a meeting with the leadership of the Lithuanian Republic in order to coordinate with them on questions connected with the withdrawal of Russian troops from Lithuanian territory and to discuss an inter-state agreement on the payment of compensation for military installations.

The Russian defense minister met Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas today. At the meeting the sides discussed an outline program for the troop withdrawal. We, Pavel Grachev noted, do not want the process of the troop withdrawal to be halted, and we will endeavor to ensure that the troops are withdrawn in the summer.

[Grachev] The president promised to take all our wishes into account and to offer support. The question of the possible sale of equipment, weapons, and ammunition to the Lithuanian side was accepted in principle by the president in a positive way.

Says Russia 'Might Fail' To Meet Timetable

WS1905091693 Tallinn BNS in English 0638 GMT 19 May 93

[Text] Vilnius, May 18, BNS—Despite existing administrative difficulties, Russia has no intention of procrastinating over the withdrawal of its troops from Lithuania, Defense Minister Pavel Grachev has said in Vilnius.

Nevertheless, he told journalists after a meeting with President Algirdas Brazauskas that Russia "might fail to comply with the agreed times (before August 31 this year). [no closing quotation mark as received] According to him, there are not enough railway cars to remove the substantial quantities of ammunition to Russia.

"A compromise is already taking shape. I believe that we will announce it at the end of my visit here," Grachev said.

Russia's defense minister told reporters that he had asked President Brazauskas to discuss with President Yeltsin the feasibility of signing as soon as possible a fundamental political agreement on the withdrawal of Russian troops from Lithuania.

According to Grachev, he also discussed with the Lithuanian president ways to ensure social security for ex-servicemen living locally, the joint use of plants for repairing military hardware, weapons and aviation equipment, and the possibility of selling some equipment and munitions to Lithuania. They also discussed

the possibility of Lithuanian aid to Russian builders in putting up housing for the returning servicemen.

The minister noted "a great striving for cooperation" displayed by Lithuania's president and military leaders.

With reference to his upcoming talks with his Latvian and Estonian counterparts Grachev said that "these will be purely protocol meetings." He intends to use them to voice his ministry's attitude to "vital issues," such as the need to sign documents that would provide legal substantiation for the withdrawal of troops.

Unless these documents are signed in the near future, the issue of troops withdrawal from Estonia and Latvia will remain open, said Grachev.

Notes Compromise on Nearly All Issues

LD1905103793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0925 GMT 19 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Vladas Burbulis and Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Vilnius, 19 May—A total of 18 issues of a military-technical nature have been examined at the talks between the heads of the Lithuanian and Russian military departments during the official visit by the Army General Pavel Grachev to the republic.

The Russian defense minister said today at a meeting with Ceslovas Jursenas, the chairman of the Lithuanian Seimas, and members of the parliamentary committee on national security, that "compromise decisions have been found on practically all issues included in the discussion.

"The withdrawal of Russian troops from Lithuania is proceeding as scheduled and the sides have no substantial claims toward each other in this sphere," Pavel Grachev stressed.

He highly assessed the talks with his Lithuanian counterpart Audrius Butkevicius, having pointed out several key areas. These were, specifically, that the sides discussed the procedure for the handover of Russian military sites to Lithuania, and they prepared a document—to be signed by the governments—on the sale to Lithuania of weapons and military equipment. Some weapons will be handed over to Lithuania free of charge.

The sides also agreed to set up joint enterprises for the repair of armored equipment and helicopters in Kaunas, the issue of the removal of ammunition dumps was fully resolved, and timetables for the handover of five military airfields to Lithuania were coordinated.

Defense Minister Pavel Grachev informed republican Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius about the accords during a meeting at the House of Government, which also took place today.

Lithuanian Adviser Notes Problems With Plan

WS1905092193 Tallinn BNS in English 0638 GMT 19 May 93

[Text] Vilnius, May 18, BNS—Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev has described results of his meeting with Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas as "lacking difficulties," Lithuanian president's adviser for foreign policy Justas Paleckis told BNS.

He said that "politicians, state delegations for talks between Lithuania and Russia will have a lot of work to do" in order to resolve a number of questions.

Paleckis said that there are certain difficulties regarding the signing of a political agreement on the withdrawal of the army. He noted that Brazauskas had stressed his readiness to sign the agreement proposed for signing in September, 1992, in Moscow. The Russian side then refused to sign it. The Lithuanian president believes that the problem can be resolved only in the framework of Lithuanian laws. That is why some of the proposals and wishes of the Russian side "are simply hard to implement".

The Lithuanian presidential adviser said that, as it was noted at the meeting, the Lithuanian side is ready for compromise, but on the condition that the Russian side will follow the same way.

Offers Estonia Troop Withdrawal in 1993

LD1805201793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1937 GMT 18 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Vladas Burbulis and Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Vilnius May 18 TASS—If the Estonian side finds a possibility to offer Russia the necessary compensation, the Russian troops withdrawal from Estonian territory may be completed in 1993, Russian Defence Minister Army General Pavel Grachev told a meeting with his Estonian counterpart Hain Rebas here today.

At the same time, Grachev noted the need to conclude an inter-state agreement at the presidential level, to create a political basis for the Russian troops withdrawal from Estonia. "So far we do not have political and juridical grounds for the withdrawal," stressed the minister.

In his turn, the Estonian official informed Grachev of the fact the U.S., Norway and Denmark express their readiness to allocate large sums to compensate military facilities and housing left behind by the Russian troops.

The Estonian minister apologises for his speech at a Brussels NATO meeting, when he described the Russian troops in Estonia as occupational.

"We are ready to continue the dialogue if the term of 'occupational troops' is excluded from political vocabulary forever," stressed Grachev.

On the same day, the Russian official held negotiations with Lithuanian Minister of National Defence Audrius Butkevicius.

Ready for Withdrawal From Latvia Before 1994

WS1905092293 Tallinn BNS in English 0638 GMT 19 May 93

[Text] Vilnius, May 18, BNS—Russia is prepared to pull its troops out of Latvia before the end of 1994 if an inter-governmental accord is available, Pavel Grachev, Russian Defense Minister, said when he met with his Latvian counterpart Talavs Jundzis in Vilnius Tuesday [18 May]. The Russian minister said that a schedule of the withdrawal will be dictated by the overall agreement.

Grachev noted that as the head of a defense agency he would like to pull all Russian troops back to Russia as soon as possible "in order to build its armed forces in a normal way." He thinks, however, that the pull out is obstructed by unwillingness of the Latvian leadership to conclude an appropriate accord while insisting on negotiating a 1993 schedule of withdrawal.

In the afternoon Pavel Grachev arrived in Kaunas where he met with commanders of the Russian units stationed in Lithuania and managers of defense factories there.

Shaposhnikov, Ivashov Comment on CIS Leaders' Meetings

LD1805182493 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1430 GMT 18 May 93

[Report by correspondent Vladimir Sanayev on a news conference by Air Marshall Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces, followed by an interview with Lieutenant General Leonid Grigoryevich Ivashov, secretary of the Council of CIS Defense Ministers, by Sanayev; place and date not given; passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[Text] Another news conference has taken place at the headquarters of the High Command of the CIS Joint Armed Forces. It was held by Air Marshal Yevgeniy Ivanovich Shaposhnikov, commander in chief, and was devoted to the results of the extraordinary meeting of the Council of Commonwealth Heads of State and some results of the working meeting of the Council of CIS Defense Ministers. Here is a recording made at the news conference by our correspondent, Vladimir Sanayev:

[Shaposhnikov] "Despite different approaches to solving specific issues of the system of collective security—the structure of managing the system of collective security or the creation of the joint armed forces—all the leaders of military delegations share concern about the state of defense. They adhere to the idea of collective security of Commonwealth member states, even if with certain reservations. This was shown during the discussion of my report at the Council of Heads of State and confirmed by the main documents adopted at the conference."

[Sanayev] Answering questions from journalists, Marshal Shaposhnikov addressed specific features of the Commonwealth's system of collective security.

[Shaposhnikov] "I regard collective security as a vital necessity of the Commonwealth member states at the current stage in their development. Its purpose is to prevent the destruction of something that will require enormous financial resources and a long time to create. I will say frankly that we have neither the former nor the latter.

"It will also promote the strengthening of confidence between the peoples and armies of Commonwealth member states and will assist in solving the issue of preventing war—not only by rebuffing aggression, as it used to be. For example, we had said we would adequately rebuff any aggression, wherever it came from. I believe this formula is obsolete, and we should take action against the elements of aggressiveness displayed by certain states at a very early stage, at distant approaches, as it were—well before this aggressor is ready to make his intention public or to go ahead with it. "I think that such a formula will promote trust, cooperation, and mutual understanding between both Commonwealth member states and the world community."

[Sanayev] Journalists asked many questions about the states that have nuclear weapons, among other things, about relations between Ukraine and Russia.

[Shaposhnikov] "At present, nuclear weapons are under the control of the High Command's operational management—with Russian specialists involved, naturally. We will work on these issues in Ukraine this month. We will meet with the defense minister and others. Please, let us refrain from speculating on the subject of Ukrainian leadership allegedly claiming that Ukraine will be a nuclear power. I, for one, have not heard such statements from the Ukrainian leadership. For me, the Ukrainian leadership consists of the president, the chairman of the government, the chairman of the parliament, and the defense minister. None of the above people is saying this. Perhaps some people in the parliament have such ideas, or maybe part of Ukraine's population or society have such aspirations.

"The fact that Ukraine has not ratified the treaties that I have mentioned—the Lisbon and other protocols and treaties—has two aspects, both positive and negative. The negative aspect is because we would like for these issues to be solved as soon as possible, but the positive aspect means that the more time members of parliament give to this issue, the better and deeper they will understand it. Then it will become clear to them that a nuclear power should have not only these weapons, but a whole system for looking after them, perfecting, guarding, defending them, and so on. It will also become clear that these weapons will become obsolete and will have to be removed by the year 2000. Then, perhaps, the view that to be a great power means to have nuclear weapons will be discarded."

[Sanayev] After the news conference, I interviewed Lieutenant General Leonid Grigoryevich Ivashov, secretary of the Council of CIS Defense Ministers.

"On what grounds do our servicemen, sergeants, and officers serve on the territories of other states nowadays [word indistinct]?"

[Ivashov] "Russian servicemen are serving on the basis of the law on military service, Article 52, which stipulates that citizens of the Russian Federation can serve in the armed forces of other Commonwealth member states until 31 December 1994."

[Sanayev] "And are they under Russian protection and jurisdiction in all cases?"

[Ivashov] "At the present, yes, but this law must be amended, by all means, because not everybody will have completed service before 31 December 1994. Many will continue their service. True, there is a decision by the Congress of People's Deputies on extending this term, but a legislative decision is necessary."

Papers Comment on CIS Leaders' Summit, Economic Union

Union Seen To Threaten Russia's Interests

PM1805162193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 May 93 First Edition p 1

[Mikhail Berger report: "Russia Could Retain Its Role As Main CIS Donor Unless It Fiercely Defends Its Interests"]

[Text] The conference of CIS heads of state that took place last week in Moscow culminated, as already reported, in the signing of a declaration on the formation of an economic union.

The fact that an agreement was reached at the highest political level to set up an economic union and general CIS coordinating organs such as the Consultative Coordination Committee can be considered the indisputable achievement of both Russian economic diplomacy and that of the former Union republics. From December 1991 until very recently, the leaders of the former Soviet republics were in no hurry to tie themselves to any kind of specific commitments in relation to their Commonwealth partners, seeing any supranational organs as a threat to their own economic independence.

So it is possible that, being practically sentenced to economic cooperation, the former fraternal republics have indeed come to understand the need to integrate.

However, even if the coordination mechanism does not have serious shortcomings, in no way does it mean that all sides will benefit equally from the formation of an economic union. Andrey Illarionov, leader of the Russian prime minister's analysis and forecasting group, surmised that what lies at the bottom of the sharply changed sentiments of the CIS states who have displayed their readiness to form an economic union is primarily Russia's first timid attempts to impose order in mutual settlements with its Commonwealth partners. It is above all a question of the so-called technical credits which are allocated to purchasers of Russian products in nearby foreign countries without any preconditions. In practice this means the virtually free transfer of Russian resources to neighboring republics' citizens and enterprises.

Last year technical credits reached 10 percent of Russia's gross domestic product [GDP]. The proportion of free aid given by the United States to other countries does not exceed 1 percent of GDP.

It is the danger that Russia will sharply cut subsidies to neighboring economies by reducing the amount of technical credits that has, in Illarionov's opinion, forced the move to very rapidly set up the economic union, which, he believes, could turn into an instrument reproducing Russia's donor role in relation to the Commonwealth states.

Illarionov, the Russian prime minister's chief economic analyst, says that what is worrisome is the fact that so far the Russian side has not, for all intents and purposes, made the economic union's formation conditional on any demands favoring its own interests.

Positive, Negative Results Noted

PM1805152993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 May 93 First Edition p 7

[Vladimir Tyurkin article: "Serious Declarations of Intent. Results of Moscow CIS Summit"]

[Text] The latest session of the CIS Heads of State Council was held at the President Hotel in Moscow Friday. Both before and during the meeting its organizers noted the unusual nature of the event. This was because of the statements that it was designed to solve the most topical and urgent problem in the CIS—the economic problem—and the highly significant procedure of the leaders being closeted behind closed doors at the Kremlin on the eve of the plenary session in the hotel.

Thus, the Moscow declaration, signed by all participants aside from Turkmenistan, has been adopted. We should recall that the leaders of Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Ukraine, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Armenia, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, and Uzbekistan took part in the meeting. Representatives from Azerbaijan and Georgia attended as observers. There is no doubt that to a certain extent it marked a breakthrough since it unequivocally states what common sense had suggested even during the Belovezheskaya Forest divorce—that the vast and interdependent economy of one-sixth of the earth's surface is not a single-cell organism and cannot live in a divided state.

The CIS heads of state expressed their resolve in following a path of creating a common market for the free movement of goods, services, capital, labor resources, and, ultimately to arrive at an economic union. Of course, there had to be a fly in the ointment, as is traditional for these kinds of meetings. First, the Turkmen president called a "time-out" because he had not had time to study the documents in sufficient depth; second, President L. Kravchuk added the rider that, although Ukraine supports the idea of integration, further thought could be given to the very name economic "union".

But, ultimately, these are details. The essence is that the declaration, however serious it was, remains a declaration. And how many of these have we seen! We very much hope that it will not be left up in the air. To be fair, we should note that this time a kind of deadline was set and there were some results. It is planned to draw up documents for the creation of the economic union by 1 July. (This was formulated in the agenda in the best CIS traditions: "On the program for preparing draft documents..."). We presume that a bloc of 25 documents will be adopted this year, and that these will comprise the administrative and legal basis for the new relations within the Commonwealth.

But the fact that the noble idea of economic cooperation could get bogged down in political, ideological, bureaucratic, mafia, and other "dead ends" cannot be ruled out. We need only cite the words of Boris Yeltsin, who confirmed in the President Hotel what many had feared, namely that the view of the CIS as a kind of "civilized divorce" had "first and foremost determined our states' entire attitude toward the fulfillment of the accords we reached at previous meetings."

On the one hand, it is a hopeful sign that the creation of organs of cooperation has been announced. On the other hand, when you list them you start to lose this desirable certainty—the Consultative Coordinating Committee, the CIS Executive Secretariat, the Institution of Permanent Representatives of the Commonwealth States.... Is this nothing but the emergence of new structures crammed full of shaky powers and the same low level of responsibility? Let us wait and see.

Leaders Seen Moving Toward Nazarbayev Analysis

PM1905104593 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 May 93 p 1

[Igor Lenskiy report: "Destroyers of the USSR Unite?"]

[Text] After months of marking time the heads of the CIS countries seem to have advanced and made appreciable progress at their meeting in Moscow. It is too early to speak of a breakthrough in the life of the CIS, as B. Yeltsin asserted, (and we by and large regard the "first signs of stabilization" as a figment of his imagination), but the main point should be singled out—the leaders did recognize economic integration as inevitable.

At the end of the talks in the Kremlin involving a limited group of people, the heads of state belatedly arrived at the President Hotel, but, judging by the beaming faces, they did not come empty-handed. Let us not flatter ourselves. The presidents have only seen the light after reducing the national economy "to poverty." Thus they have clung to the coordinating consultative committee and economic union like the last life preserver. After breaking up a great country they have only now decided to pull down the barriers that they themselves piled up in the way of goods, capital, and services. After reducing their citizens to ruin, they have decided to pursue an active social policy. Those who have secretly or overtly connived at wars to divide up territories have now remembered their international human rights commitments and aid for refugees and victims of conflict.

Since the 287 documents adopted since December 1991 are not operating, why should we count on the current declaration and the other 25 pledges that they are promising to sign by the end of 1993?

"Our divorce policy has not won the people's support in a single state," B. Yeltsin announced with the note of a great historical discovery. Did you expect it to, Boris Nikolayevich? When the USSR was being finished off, did you really not feel a pang that this was being done without the people's blessing?

I don't know what principle was used to seat the presidents at the news conference, but it was no coincidence and that is a fact. L. Kravchuk and S. Niyazov sat on the rim. The collapse of the kharbovanets has lessened Leonid Makarovich's arrogance and he seems to be prepared to join everyone in thinking about a supranational currency. But Kravchuk is not, however, giving utterance to the word "union" [soyuz]. He has even put forward the theory that if you consider the "factological-logical factor (?!) the concept of a 'union' makes a negative impression on the minds and mentality of the Ukrainian people." (You can see easily from the video recording that N. Nazarbayev smiled at that moment and shook his head.)

S. Niyazov's seat was empty—the Turkmen president received the documents late, took time out, and is now contemplating whether or not to sign. Kyrgyz Vice President F. Kulov had a meaningful look: He has the som [Kyrgyz unit of currency] in his pocket. I. Karimov on the other hand believes in the ruble, but is worried lest independence be truncated. "There is nothing terrible in this," N. Nazarbayev retorted, "any commonwealth state anywhere delegates some of its powers, and the common powers increase as a result." M. Snegur and L. Ter-Petrosyan did not utter a word; they had evidently had their fill of sovereignty. E. Rakhmonov also kept silent, but he appeared tranquil. Tajikistan was promised urgent aid in connection with the natural disaster.

In our view, the real architect of the Moscow meeting—Nursultan Nazarbayev—is behind its reassuring results. He realized ahead of the others that the CIS with its

border barriers, customs duties, and primitive barter is rapidly sliding into a noncommodity economy. It was Nazarbayev who a month ago got the presidents to meet in Minsk and told them of his program for "recovery." Then he shared his ideas with journalists. According to Nazarbayev's estimates, 85 percent of the drop in industrial production is due to the fact that the unified organism has been dissected. On the other hand, the quality of the output produced by the CIS countries is such that it is regrettably only required by these countries. Hence the conclusion that we cannot live without one another. And it is not too late. At the time the response to Nazarbayev was a cautious one, but now hardly anyone would deny his farsightedness. Yeltsin's speech in the President Hotel only gave voice to Nazarbayev's plan of a month ago.

...Then the official meeting with the press ended. The flamboyant Armenian president stood out among the starchy leaders. Levon Ter-Petrosyan was the only one to mingle "with the people," laugh a great deal, joke, and willingly embrace and pose in front of the cameras with Czech journalist Dana Mazalova. Then the presidents proceeded in orderly fashion to a banquet where their differences presumably diminished.

Unanimity on Economic Union Idea Hailed

PM1805143793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 May 93 p 1

[Vladimir Gavrilenko article: "Extraordinary Meeting of CIS Leaders—Serious Stage in Developing Commonwealth"]

[Text] The main part of the meeting took place, of course, in the Kremlin, where its participants talked face to face. What they had come to Moscow also took place there—approval of the idea and necessity of creating an economic union within the CIS framework. The fact that the conversation in the Kremlin proved successful could be judged from the way its participants arrived at the capital's President Hotel. They came in a single minibus and ascended the hotel's wide front steps in a single line and almost in step. This occasioned an unambiguous interpretation of the result of the Kremlin conversation—they had reached agreement.

Then everything took its course. When the delegations from Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Ukraine, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Armenia, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, and Uzbekistan took their seats at the "round table," they were joined by the representatives of Azerbaijan and Georgia as observers. The meeting was chaired by Russian President Boris Yeltsin. Journalists in the lobby of the meeting arrived at the opinion that it was not so much his being in the chair that placed Boris Nikolayevich at the center of the meeting as its emergency nature. The "big gathering" ahead of schedule meant that the approval for the policy of reforms and the support for the president himself in the April referendum had dispelled the mood of uncertainty and cautious temporizing among the leaders of the former Union republics with regard to the future of the CIS.

So, there were five items on the agenda of the meeting: the creation of an economic union, a program for the preparation of draft documents on the further strengthening of the CIS, the Commonwealth Consultative Coordinating Committee, the CIS Executive Secretariat, and permanent plenipotentiary representatives of the Commonwealth member states on the CIS statutory organs.

The central question at the meeting was undoubtedly the question of an economic union. No, the union has not yet been created, but nine participants in the meeting (excluding Turkmenistan, which has postponed this decision until the fall) firmly approved the idea of creating it and signed a document of intent to do so. Yes, everything makes you feel that the centrifugal tendencies in the expanses of the former USSR have ended and given way to an understanding of the need for unity. Economic unity at present. It was this that enabled Boris Yeltsin to call the meeting a serious stage and even a turning point in the life of the Commonwealth.

What does this union envisage? Incidentally, not all the participants in the meeting agreed with the word "union." Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk objected, for example, explaining that a significant section of the republic's population rejects both the word and the concept.

The Russian concept of a union (all the participants in the meeting agreed with it in the main) includes such elements as a customs union, providing for the free movement of goods, an interbank union (a unified monetary system and coordination of financial and credit policy), and a foreign economic union, implying the partners' concerted position on the foreign market. Finally, rapprochement among national legislations. In all, as was pointed out at the news conference after the meeting, 25 documents that will determine the life of the union are being prepared. At the same time, none of the participants in the meeting insisted that the states sign all the documents at once. Each partner will decide for himself the degree of his involvement in the union. This involvement will be gradual and be phased in.

The unanimity with which the participants in the meeting accepted the idea of a union says a lot. The chief thing, above all, is this: Nowhere has the policy of divorcing the former republics of the USSR received popular support. Even the presence of Azerbaijan and Georgia as observers attests that even these countries cannot conceive of life without a normal and mutually advantageous partnership with the peoples of the former USSR.

On the whole, the readiness to create an economic union within the CIS framework was a major step in strengthening the Commonwealth.

CIS Official Discusses Relation of Constitution, Defense

LD1805154493

[Editorial Report] Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian at 0322 GMT on 18 May, as part of the "Panorama" program, carries a four-minute discussion by correspondent Tatyana Chemodanova and Lieutenant General Leonid Grigoryevich Ivashov, secretary of the CIS Council of Defense Ministers, on "the topic of the constitution and defense, and how this topic is reflected in the drafts of the constitution that have been submitted for consideration by the president and the Supreme Soviet."

As a non-specialist, Ivashov declines to speak about the constitution as a whole: "I would like to voice some thoughts only on issues relating to the constitutional regulation of the defense sphere and the defense and security of the state. As for specific issues, I would like the draft constitution under consideration to reflect and precisely enshrine aspects such as, for example, the place of the Armed Forces in the political system of the state. This is a very important aspect of constitutional regulation, and the role and place of the Armed Forces should be precisely defined. Simply to proclaim in a legislative act that the Army is outside politics, that servicemen are not engaged in politics, is probably not entirely correct. The Army cannot be excluded from society and social relations and there is also the right of servicemen to take part in elections and referenda and so on.

"A second aspect that I believe should be reflected in the draft constitution is the individual serviceman's relation to the state—this does not feature in any of the drafts. When this issue is examined and regulated, I would like the point of departure to be the patriotic idea of service to the fatherland; the constitution should, in my view, use its authority to back up military service. Today, in Russia particularly, we sense an unwillingness on the part of young men to serve. In Russia, only one in 10 conscripts actually serves." The present constitution, he says, does not encourage and promote the idea of patriotism and civic duty.

Asked which version of the draft Constitution he prefers, Ivashov says: "In my view, neither draft regulates the problematic issues of defense to a sufficient degree; the best way out is to develop the concept of defense and security and to find mutually-acceptable solutions."

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 18 May Evening Papers

LD1805192693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1903 GMT 18 May 93

[Text] Moscow May 18 TASS—Evening newspapers inform today in detail of a statement of Deputy Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman Nikolay Ryabov on revision of the course towards confrontation with the Russian president, the parliament and the congress held before the referendum.

"The readiness to reach a compromise with the president is ripening in the parliament," says IZVESTIYA, commenting on the statement.

Ryabov told IZVESTIYA there is a need to take into account current realities and referendum results. "I can see the previous course of the parliament and the congress needs corrections".

The VECHERNAYA MOSKVA newspaper reports the Public Committee of Russian Democratic Organizations and the Union of Cossack Troops have "suggested that Boris Yeltsin purges the government". They called for the preservation in the government of only First Vice-Premier Vladimir Shumeyko.

After the resignation of Yuriy Skokov and Georgiy Khizha, democrats think it necessary to remove from their posts head of the Russian Committee on Defence Industries Viktor Glukhikh, Minister of Transport Vitaliy Yefimov and head of the Russian State Committee on Anti-Monopoly Policy and Support to New Economic Structures Leonid Bochin.

IZVESTIYA carries a detailed report on a news conference of Russian presidential staff head Sergey Filatov in Kremlin. The briefing dwelt on preparations and adoption of a new Russian Constitution. In the opinion of Sergey Filatov, "the main thing now is to stop confrontation between the powers".

IZVESTIYA commented on a report of the Japanese JIJI TSUSHIN news agency on "a secret document", allegedly confirming Russia's intention to toughen its stand as regards Tokyo and consider the territorial issue nonexisting.

Referring to the Russian Foreign Ministry's Information and Press Department, IZVESTIYA stressed "a suggestion the Russian foreign policy may reanimate a provision of 'Brezhnev diplomacy' is absurd and does not correspond to the reality".

"The Kyrgyz som hit the rouble in Central Asia," notes IZVESTIYA, commenting on the regional situation after the Kyrgyz introduction of national currency. The latter resulted in sharp drop of the rouble exchange rate at currency exchanges of Kyrgyzstan and neighbouring Kazakhstan. The rouble exchange rate in Kyrgyzstan is nearing 1,500 roubles to the dollar.

IZVESTIYA carries an exclusive interview with head of the Russian delegation to negotiations with Latvia and special envoy Sergey Zotov in connection with the restoration of the Russian-Latvian relations. Zotov expressed the hope the inter-state meeting will make a breakthrough on a number of issues and called on the sides "to re-estimate mutual claims, which are sometimes excessive and unreal".

"Admitting Estonia to its membership, the Council of Europe, thus, opposed with its estimation of the position of the Russian-speaking population in the Baltic state the estimations of the European Parliament and the CSCE."

IZVESTIYA stressed in a commentary on the Estonian admission to the Council of Europe.

In the opinion of IZVESTIYA, the Estonian incident will hardly tell on the Russian admission to the council, but it is likely to be recalled by deputies of the Parliamentary Assembly when discussing Latvia's admission to the Council of Europe.

In the opinion of 49 per cent of Muscovites, Boris Yeltsin won the April 25 referendum. One per cent thinks the winner was the Supreme Soviet and deputies. As for 31 per cent, there was no winner in the referendum.

These are the results of a weekly public opinion poll to include 1,000 Muscovite respondents, held by the Independent Institute of Parliamentarianism Sociology on May 13. The results were published by IZVESTIYA. According to the poll, the rating of Boris Yeltsin, which was 60 per cent on April 22, lowered to 55 per cent on May 13.

19 May Press Review

LD1905065693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0505 GMT 19 May 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow May 19 TASS—By ITAR-TASS:

The first Moscow international conference on chemical weapons begins here on Wednesday, writes today's KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (RED STAR).

The conference is to deal with political, scientific, technical, socio-economic and legal aspects of the elimination of chemical weapons, conversion of military chemical production plants to civilian uses, procedures for monitoring and inspections verifying compliance with the convention-provided obligations, the newspaper points out.

The conference is to be attended by 100 foreign scientists, political and public figures, diplomats, military experts as well as representatives from a number of Western leading firms.

In this connection the newspaper notes that President Boris Yeltsin of the Russian Federation sent a message of greetings to participants and guests of the forum.

In the message the president pointed out the importance of the fact that the convention on the prohibition of the development, production, stockpiling and use of chemical weapons and on their destruction has been signed by an overwhelming majority of countries as well as reaffirmed Russia's determination to meet its commitments in this respect.

Touching upon the fate of five compatriots who were sentenced to execution by firing squad in Baku for involvement in fighting on the Armenian side in Nagorno-Karabakh, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA points out that "it is for a long time that one did not hear about such a large number of death sentences. In Russia even killers are no longer sentenced to capital punishment while Baku sentences, one can say, rank-and-file participants in an armed conflict, who found themselves involved in the fighting owing to circumstances outside their control."

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA carries an interview with Valeriy Krenov, president of the International Business Foundation (IDF) of the former servicemen. He described the IDF efforts towards social protection of servicemen.

"The purposes of the Russian Defence Ministry to ensure the social protection of former servicemen and the statutory tasks of the IDF coincide in many respects. And it would be advisable to somehow combine and coordinate our actions. A number of projects which we prepare could be of interest to the Defence Ministry," Krenov said.

This year the IDF intends to open its missions in a number of main regions of the CIS, as well as in China, the United States, Germany, Britain, and France. Preparations are under way for the registration of the IDF at the United Nations, the IDF president said.

Touching upon the destiny of a historical monument, the Borodino field, where the army of Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte in 1812 sustained a crushing defeat from Russian troops, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA writes: "Fifteen years ago the Russian Army took the Borodino field under its patronage. Now the sacred site appeals for the same kind of patronage and the hopes of people revering it again turn to the young Russian Army".

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA draws attention to an issue concerning the adoption of a new constitution of Russia. The newspaper believes that "the 'presidential' draft constitution will probably succeed in gaining the backing of the subjects of the Federation but only provided important adjustments are introduced into it".

A constitution conference is to be held in Moscow on June 5. It is to be attended by two representatives each region and republic—from the executive branch (president of the republic or a regional administration chief) and from the republican parliament or regional council.

"For the first time in years the future of laws will be decided by representatives of the provinces, not by Moscow leaders", KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA emphasises.

The newspaper PRAVDA, analysing the results of the April 25 all-Russia referendum, admits that "the referendum confirmed the legitimacy of the president and Russian deputies". At the same time the newspaper asserts that "the results of the referendum are being juggled with to pull through an anti-popular (by which PRAVDA means the presidential one—note by ITAR-TASS) draft constitution".

Kozyrev Says All Sides Agree on Fulfilling Vance-Owen

LD1805173093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1458 GMT 18 May 93

[Text] Split (Croatia), 18 May—Russian Foreign Affairs Minister Andrey Kozyrev believes the main result of the consultations held in Split consists of the fact that all sides voiced their agreement with the need for the fulfillment of the Vance-Owen plan for a settlement of the Bosnian crisis, .

In a conversation with journalists at the end of the series of meetings and talks in Split, Kozyrev pointed out that the Russian delegation had not encountered any serious objections to Russia's initiative on the stage-by-stage fulfillment of the Vance-Owen plan.

Arrives in Belgrade

LD1805153793 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1500 GMT 18 May 93

[Text] Andrey Kozyrev arrived in Belgrade today within the framework of a program of consultations on the settlement of the Yugoslav crisis. Immediately after arriving, the head of the Russian foreign policy department began talks with the leaders of Yugoslavia and its republics of Serbia and Montenegro.

Answering journalists' questions [word indistinct], the Russian minister said that he intends to exchange opinions on a new Russian initiative, the essence of which is in a stage-by-stage implemention of the Vance-Owen plan, [words indistinct] President of Yugoslavia Dobrica Cosic, and the Presidents of Serbia and Montenegro Slobodan Milosevic and Momir Bulatovic.

Discusses Problems With Leaders

LD1805170893 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 18 May 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] A meeting took place in the Croatian town of Split today between Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, Croatian President Tudjman, and Bosnian Muslim Leader Izetbegovic. Lord Owen, the EC mediator, also took part in the talks with the Bosnian and Croatian presidents. The sharply deteriorating situation in Bosnia, as well as the new Russian initiatives for a stage-by-stage fulfillment of the Vance-Owen plan were discussed. Andrey Kozyrev arrived in Belgrade today.

Comments on Talks in Croatia

LD1805180993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1756 GMT 18 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Split, Croatia, May 18 TASS—The main result of Split consultations is the agreement of all sides on the need to implement the Vance-Owen plan on Bosnian settlement, believes Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev.

He told correspondents upon the meetings completion, the Russian delegation did not face considerable objections to the Russian initiative on stage-by-stage fulfilment of the Vance-Owen plan.

The Russian minister arrived in Split from Berlin within the framework of his program of consultations with European heads to settle the Yugoslav crisis.

In Split, Kozyrev met Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, head of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidium Alija Izetbegovic, commander of the U.N. forces in former Yugoslavia Lars-Eric Wahlgren, Danish Foreign Minister Niels Helveg Petersen and co-chairmen of the coordination committee of peaceful conference on former Yugoslavia David Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg.

"We assured the interlocutors, Russia intends to give a fresh impetus to the negotiations on the plan. It seems extremely important today, as there are fears the plan may be shaken loose and there will be no progress towards peace then," said Andrey Kozyrev.

The interlocutors assured Kozyrev stage-by-stage fulfilment of the Vance-Owen plan can be done, which, in the minister's opinion, is the main result of the meetings.

The Russian initiative to "extinguish fire in Bosnia" corresponds to the aims of the Vance-Owen plan on termination of bloodshed in the region, said Kozyrev.

All the sides took positively the idea of the U.N. Security Council's adoption of the Vance-Owen plan as its document.

Says Referendum Must Not Block Vance-Owen

LD1805184993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 18 May 93

[Interview with Foreign Affairs Minister Andrey Kozyrev by an unidentified correspondent in Yugoslavia on 18 May; from the "Novosti" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Today, after completing his visit to Berlin, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev arrived in Yugoslavia in order to continue his consultations on the problem of settling the conflict.

[Correspondent] There is no precise information at the moment, but it is already known that the Bosnian Serbs voted against the Vance-Owen plan in their national referendum on a Serbian republic. What do you think the next diplomatic steps might be?

[Kozyrev] I do not think there is any need to exaggerate the significance of that vote. It is hard to call it a referendum in the true sense of the word. What is far

more important, it seems to me, is the fact that Presidents Cosic, Milosevic, and Bulatovic—with whom we will shortly be having a meeting—have approved the Vance-Owen plan.

I have just had meetings with the presidents of Croatia and Bosnia, and also with the leadership of the UN peacekeeping force. Finally, we also met with the cochairmen. Everyone says that it should not be permitted that that vote or some other decision—hasty or not well-founded—should lead to the breakdown of everything that has been worked out. This is all the more so since no reasonable alternative to the Vance-Owen plan exists. It would only mean a continuation of the bloodshed.

So we are now working on how to move further along the road of a political settlement with a very big amendment to the so-called referendum.

Arrives in Rome for Talks

LD1805222893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2103 GMT 18 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Aleksey Golyayev and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Rome, 19 May—Andrey Kozyrev, the minister of foreign affairs of the Russian Federation, arrived in Rome from Belgrade late on Tuesday evening to continue consultations on the settlement of the Yugoslav crisis. Straight from the airport he went to the Madama villa where he held negotiations with Beniamino Andreatta, the minister of foreign affairs of Italy. Today [19 May] he will meet Prime Minister Carlo Azeglio Ciampi, and ministers of foreign affairs of some Western European countries who are there to take part in a session of the Council of the Western European Union [WEU].

Andrey Kozyrev is probing the attitude of European partners toward the possibility of the realization of a new Russian initiative on the stage-by-stage fulfillment of the Vance-Owen plan. Earlier he had held negotiations in Berlin, in Split (Croatia), and in Belgrade where he met, in particular, the leaders of Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina as well as the presidents of FRY, Serbia, and Montenegro. The President of Serbia, Slobodan Milosevic, underlined after a conversation with Andrey Kozyrev that at the present stage of the settlement Russia is carrying out "the objective and well-balanced policy" in the region.

In an interview with an ITAR-TASS correspondent upon arrival in Rome, A. Kozyrev summed up preliminary results of this mission aimed at settling the conflict in Yugoslavia. "I have the feeling that, far from being discarded, the Vance-Owen plan, on the contrary, remains the only real alternative, and all the leaders representing the former Yugoslavia are quite seriously prepared to look for ways to implement it", the head of the Russian foreign political department said. "Today we are to exchange views with our European partners, and then we will go to the United States to meet members of the UN Security Council. Of course, the task is hardly a simple one, but the results attained so far seem extremely important and confirm the fact that there are possibilities of further progress." The minister stressed that a lot is yet to be done to fully implement the plan.

Germany Praises Russian 'Initiative'

LD1805181293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1744 GMT 18 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent Georgiy Shmelyov]

[Text] Split, Croatia, May 18 TASS—The Yeltsin-Kozyrev initiative on stage-by-stage fulfilment of the Bosnian settlement plan was approved at Monday's negotiations of German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel and his Russian counterpart Andrey Kozyrev, political adviser of the Russian foreign minister Galina Sidorova told ITAR-TASS today.

Commenting on results of the Berlin negotiations, she said the German side noted recent active efforts of Russian diplomats, which, in the opinion of Kinkel, are extremely important for the successful solution to the problem.

The German minister said he is very satisfied with Kozyrev's beginning of his consultations on the Yugoslav settlement in Berlin. In his opinion, comprehensive settlement in Bosnia is possible only on general consent of all sides and can be reached only through the U.N. Security Council mechanism.

Germany views the Russian initiative as Moscow's striving to use all the best, outline a positive program of actions and adopt it for fulfilment in accordance with the U.N. mandate.

It is also important, the German side confirmed at the Berlin negotiations its intention to work with Croatia, where it has its interests and influence, including through economic measures.

Germany treats with great caution all force variants of the problem solution, understanding the situation is very delicate, and does not plan to involve in such actions, said Sidorova.

The Russian foreign political initiative provides for stage-by- stage fulfilment of the Vance-Owen plan, which will enable the narrowing of extremist forces' circle in the region.

Another favorable circumstance is that the Vance-Owen plan has been approved by the Yugoslav, Serbian and Montenegro leaders.

A series of specific measures to implement the Vance-Owen plan will follow its basic approval. The sides are now looking for the best form of peace-making efforts in the region, said Sidorova.

Solton Commentary Noted

LD1805141093 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 18 May 93

[Text] Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev is touring Bonn, Belgrade, Rome, Washington, and New York. On instructions of President Yeltsin, he is holding consultations on settling the Yugoslav crisis. Comment is by Yuriy Solton, and this is what he writes:

The results of the referendum among the Bosnian Serbs, who rejected the Vance-Owen peace plan, has not affected Russia's stance. It was stated officially that Moscow had never considered the referendum as the last and decisive say by the Serbs in the current unfavorable conditions. The Vance-Owen peace plan, though far from ideal, remains, according to the Russian leaders, the only possible alternative to the war and the threat of foreign military intervention.

Such an approach coincides with the view by many states interested in a peaceful settlement. Together with them, Russia will take an active part in materializing the plan. But how? This question is the main one in the course of the current consultations being held by Mr. Kozyrev. They are to close on Friday by discussing the problem at the UN Security Council at foreign minister level, though not all the countries—including the United States—have given their consent.

I would refrain from forecasting developments, but one thing is certain—those who want to resolve the crisis through the immediate use of force are not given the support they need. The American television company ABC says that the Clinton plan and the lifting of the international embargo on arms deliveries to the Muslims have been shelved. The NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner, now developing NATO military operations in Bosnia, says that the United Nations must take concrete action.

Most countries, thanks to the important role played by Russia, stand for a gradual and softer materialization of the Vance-Owen plan. Importantly, the plan was backed by the leaders of the former Yugoslavia. Measures are being taken to create security zones in Bosnia-Herzegovina. UN observers are being sent to the disengagement line. Concrete problems are being solved on sending United Nations troops to the republic's borders. Other measures to influence the developments will probably be considered. Those forces which oppose the settlement today, said Andrey Kozyrev following his consultations in Bonn, must be prepared for any measures, including the toughest. If the Bosnian Serbs began cooperating in the gradual materialization of the Vance-Owen plan, Moscow believes they would come to understand that the plan in no way threaten them but contain important principles necessary for a safe and worthy life.

Report Views U.S. Attitude Toward Bosnian Situation

LD1805213893 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 18 May 93

[Report by correspondent Boris Kalyagin; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The United States is not going to take part in the session of the UN Security Council at the level of foreign ministers, which should be devoted to a peaceful settlement in Bosnia. A meeting planned for Friday is being held on Russia's initiative, with the support of the European countries. However, the United States has made it clear that it does not want to help to implement the plan that was declared dead by the leader of the Bosnian Serbs. U.S. representatives point out that they need more time to prepare for the discussion of the problem at the ministerial level.

The U.S. decision has revealed disagreements between the Clinton administration and European leaders with regard to the Bosnian problem. Washington is skeptical about the plan proposed by international mediators Vance and Owen, while Western Europe and eraussia believe its fulfillment is the only way to stop the hostilities in Bosnia. The United States advocates a tougher policy—to carry out military actions in Bosnia-Herzegovina. It is a question of air strikes against the Bosnian Serbs' heavy artillery and of lifting the embargo on supplying arms to Bosnian Muslims. However, the European allies of the United States are objecting to these plans, fearing that they will only lead to the expansion of the military conflict.

Now, judging by the pronouncements of Secretary of State Warren Christopher, the U.S. Administration is ready to suspend the implementation of its plans and to give Europeans an opportunity to show the initiative. The State Department notes that the United States does not intend to undermine the U.S.-European alliance because of the Bosnian problem.

Ambartsumov Wants Vance-Owen Plan Amended

LD1805170493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1645 GMT 18 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow May 18 TASS—A Bosnian Serb stand "should be determined by Bosnian Serbs themselves, but their leaders must not shift off responsibility for a decision to the people", people's deputy Yevgeniy Ambartsumov, chairman of Russia's parliamentary Committee for Foreign Affairs and Foreign Economic Relations, told a news conference at the Russian parliamentary building on Tuesday.

Ambartsumov said he was not "a devoted supporter of the Vance- Owen plan", which he believes to "need some adjustment, so that a real step could be taken to cease military operations". He favours "a plan of peaceful

settlement, one without air raids and armed attacks". This is also to meet Russia's interests, the lawmaker said.

Bosnian Serbs hope that "Russia will be actively involved in monitoring the plan fulfillment, but only the adjusted plan", Ambartsumov, who earlier visited the Balkans, said. As for the peaceful settlement of the Bosnian conflict, he pins hopes on the forthcoming meeting of foreign ministers.

The chairman of the Committee for Foreign Affairs also expressed regret about the death sentence, passed by Azeri court to five Russian servicemen, who had fought on the Armenian side in the Armenian-Azeri war over Nagorno-Karabakh. Ambartsumov said he hoped that Azerbaijan authorities would take Russia's request into account.

Paper Hits Anti-Serb Posturing of 'Hawks'

PM1805134993 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 18 May 93 p 3

[Ye. Popov article: "Why the Hawks Are Billing and Cooing: While the Bosnian Serbs Were Voting in the Referendum the Russian Foreign Ministry Was Expressing a Readiness To Begin Implementing the Vance-Owen Plan"]

[Text] After the "period of indulgence," Clinton's opponents are no longer holding back in their choice of words. In connection with the president's latest bellicose tirade against the Bosnian Serbs, one of his critics, according to the BBC, has bluntly stated that Clinton "is talking complete crap." Meanwhile the president has repeated for the umpteenth time that his policy in Bosnia "will be clear and tough." Even before the announcement of the referendum results on the Vance-Owen plan, Clinton has again called for the "pressure to be stepped up"—but according to some strange logic stepped up on only one of the warring sides, the Bosnian Serbs—and again tried to scare them with the lifting of the embargo on the sale of arms to the Muslims and the mounting of bombing raids on Serb positions.

When addressing an audience of schoolchildren several days earlier, Clinton also broached the Bosnian problem and, as it were, "struck out" when answering the children's simple questions, such as this: Since he condemned the U.S. military adventure in Vietnam why is he now advocating similar actions in the Balkans?

In another recent speech the President commented on another analogy—in reply to a comment that the "characteristics of Bosnian geography make air strikes far more complex than those made during the Gulf war against Iraq," he noted with satisfaction: The Bosnian Serbs' armaments are far inferior to Iraq's and furthermore air strikes, if he orders them, "will be launched against specific and vulnerable targets...."

Until relatively recently there was an opinion that the bulk of ordinary Americans are far more hawkish than the most rabid extremists in their government and congress. Times are changing, however, and recent public opinion polls demonstrate quite definitely that the majority of Americans are opposed to U.S. military intervention in the Balkan conflict.

As Newt Gingrich, a Republican leader in the House, believes, it would be a "great mistake to send ground forces to the Balkans...the U.S. people will not tolerate that." And the Republican Dan Burton opposed military intervention because of the real possibility that "the conflict will develop into a guerrilla war."

The U.S. President states that "the United States is pursuing two aims in Yugoslavia: first, to localize the conflict; second, to do everything to end the war and stop ethnic cleansing."

It is strange, however, that what is being put forward as some kind of universal peacemaking device is in fact what essentially incited this conflict: a policy extremely heavily biased against one of the sides!

Back when Clinton was still a contender for the presidency and Thomas Friedman, a commentator for THE NEW YORK TIMES, made a venomous comment that his experience of world affairs was limited to lunches at the International House of Pancakes, Clinton took an even tougher anti-Serbian stance than his predecessor. He has held to that stance ever since.

As stated in a commentary from Voice of America, which reflects the U.S. Administration's viewpoint, "the Serb leaders must change their country's course." The practical implication of the implementation of that ultimatum laid down by the world's policeman was convincingly shown in an analytical report prepared by the London Institute of Strategic Studies: If Serbia were to satisfy the demands made on it, it would "soon find itself within the borders laid down by the Congress of Berlin in 1878 and after a century of wars and sacrifices would be back where it started. The Serbs, of course, are resisting that outcome."

Having created a "phantom state" (as the researchers at the London institute defined Bosnia-Herzegovina) on the ruins of the wrecked Yugoslavia, the creators of the new world order are now proposing to split that phantom into 10 semiautonomous provinces. Whereas for the Croats and the Muslims there remains some hope—most likely a highly illusory one—that the autonomous formations will be something akin to the Swiss cantons, the Serbs have every reason to regard the areas imposed on them like Red Indian reservations as bloody "Nagornyy Karabakhs separated from one another and from Serbia." The very fact that one creator of the plan is Lord Owen—"Iron David"—could not fail to alarm them!

It is no surprise that "Iron David" contemptuously dismissed the very idea of holding a referendum among the Bosnian Serbs to ascertain their attitude toward the "peace plan." And without waiting for its results he hurried off to Moscow along with the other international

mediator, Stoltenberg, for a meeting with another peacemaking hawk, Kozyrev, who on the day of the referendum confused the international community once again. The Russian minister gave an interview to the BBC, some passages of which were initially interpreted almost as the birth of an independent Russian policy in the Balkans. In Kozyrev's words, Yeltsin intends to put forward a new initiative on the solution of the Yugoslav crisis. The details were not disclosed but the minister let it be known that Russia does not support either the lifting of the embargo on arms supplies to the Muslims or bombing raids against Serb positions. However, other statements in the same interview essentially disavowed this sensational passage: It all boiled down in fact to a confirmation of the main points of the recent U.S.-Russian statement that the United States and Russia "are ready to send the requisite military contingents" to Yugoslavia. But if "the peace plan is not adopted and implementation of it does not begin," then..."the United States and Russia will urgently resume talks on the adoption of new and tougher measures." Mocking the expression of the Serb people's will, Kozyrev, like his fellow hawk, the Iron Owen, did not wait for the referendum results before demanding the forcible implementation of the "peace plan" and additionally does not hide the fact that he is ready to use military means, too. Furthermore, the latter are also the essence of the new "peace initiatives," because "any new plan will be based on sending new military contingents, including Russian contingents, to Yugoslavia." The Russian hawk even ventured to scream in bellicose rage, promising to "crush and eliminate" local leaders of the "warring clans"!

It is no wonder that the Bosnian Serbs rightly regard "a peace initiative" of this kind as merely a continuation of a policy which is provocatively prejudiced against them. It seems that they are harboring no illusions about Yeltsin's forthcoming peacemaking activity. And clearly it was simply from despair that Radovan Karadzic, the Bosnian Serb leader, made the following world-shattering statement on referendum day: If the Vance-Owen plan is not adopted (the results of the poll will not become known before 19 May) there is an intention to appeal for help to...Gorbachev in the hope that maybe he will be able to suggest some way out of the Bosnian impasse!

Even this paradoxical idea in itself is enough to show graphically the hopeless situation that our friends in the Balkans find themselves in. Incidentally, with regard to Gorbachev's role in the present Yugoslav tragedy, it is hard not to agree with British Prime Minister John Major's comment at the conference "Europe and the World After 1992": "...But for the collapse of the former Soviet system there would possibly not be war in Yugoslavia today...."

Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gives News Briefing

Extension of Nuclear Test Ban Noted

LD1805120893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1124 GMT 18 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents]

[Text] Moscow May 18 TASS—Russia said it is ready to extend its nuclear test ban and called on world nuclear powers to follow suit.

"Russia would like to prolong the moratorium on nuclear tests and make it permanent. Our position will greatly depend on positions of other nuclear states", Foreign Ministry spokesman Sergey Yastrzhembskiy told reporters on Tuesday.

"We hope that the moratorium on nucear tests which was announced in Paris and then in Washington will be prolonged and we do not forget that in Vancouver, during the Yeltsin-Clinton summit, the sides agreed to begin consultations regarding a solution of the problem of banning nuclear tests on a wide international basis", he added.

Comments on Japanese Ties

LD1805133393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1249 GMT 18 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Boris Krivoshei and Sergey Staroselsky]

[Text] Moscow May 18 TASS—"A supposition that any postulate of the "Brezhnev diplomacy" can be reanimated in the Russian foreign policy is absurd, whatever direction of the Russian foreign policy it concerns, including Russian-Japanese relations," Sergey Yastrzhembsky, director of the Press and Information Department of the Russian Foreign Ministry, said at a briefing here today.

He answered a question about a press-release issued by the Russian Embassy in Japan, which denied changes in the Russian foreign policy.

The Russian diplomat noted that the Russian leadership had approved an official document on problems of foreign policy, which, in particular, did not deny the existence of the problem of "the northern territories."

"Russia has always regarded and regards the development of relations with Japan as a priority of the Russian foreign policy. It proceeds from the assumption that it is necessary to settle the problem of territorial division. Therefore, what the Russian Embassy in Tokyo declared, is the absolute truth," Yaztrzhembsky said.

Views Estonia in Council of Europe

LD1805135993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1232 GMT 18 May

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents]

[Text] Moscow May 18 TASS—The adoption of Estonia to the Council of Europe is not a loss of the Russian Foreign Ministry, but rather a reflection of positive changes which take place in post- communist Europe, according to spokesman of the Foreign Ministry Sergey Yastrzhembski.

Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev refused to participate in a session of the council which considered the admission of Estonia because Russia accuses the Baltic state of violating human rights of the Russian-speaking population.

"We have taken several steps to attract the European public opinion to those negative phenomena which take place towards the Russian-speaking population" in Estonia, Yastrzhembski told a briefing on Tuesday.

"We believe that the membership in the council places additional responsibilities on official Tallinn in making its laws and practice corresponding to European and international laws. The world public opinion is not well aware of the practice" with human rights, he added.

French Navy Officer: Russia Unable To Destroy Submarines

PM1905113693 Paris LE MONDE in French 18 May 93 p27

[Unattributed report: "Russia's Destruction of Its Nuclear Submarines Exceeds Competence of Its Shipyards"]

[Text] In addition to 45 conventional submarines, Russia is to dismantle 53 nuclear submarines and the 96 reactors embarked on them for their propulsion. This operation exceeds Russia's existing capabilities in this sphere and raises even more problems for the country than keeping these units in service.

This is the opinion expressed by Commander Jean-Louis Vichot of the Navy Center for Higher Education in the specialist publication MARINE of the Central Association of Navy Reserve Officers. This dismantling—which will have to avoid any risk of accident or pollution—is "a real challenge" and one of the main problems "now facing the leadership of the military-industrial complex" in the new Russia.

A complete list of the nuclear submarines concerned is published for the first time—strategic missile-launching vessels and attack sumbarines. Most of these units are more than 20 years old on average.

For instance, 13 Yankee submarines (the NATO code-name), in other words 26 reactors, are destined for demolition: They carry ballistic or aerodynamic missiles (the former Soviet version of the Cruise missile). Similarly, there are plans to destroy five Echo I submarines in the short term, which means 10 reactors, and 13 Echo II submarines, which means 26 reactors: these are launch platforms for aerodynamic missiles.

Then, 10 Charlie 1 submarines, in other words 10 reactors, are to be dismantled: these are submarines which launch aerodynamic missiles. Finally, 12 November submarines, in other words 24 reactors, will have to go: These are torpedo-firing nuclear attack submarines designed one year after the American Nautilus.

If we refer to the former Soviet submarine fleet which was still in service last year, the dismantling process which is to be carried out affects three fourths of the vessels with conventional propulsion (diesel/electric) and a little less than 40 percent of nuclear-propeled submarines.

According to Commander Vichot, the main problem is the capability of shipyards in Russia to carry out the work they will be asked to do. Four shipyards: in Severodvinsk (near Arkhangelsk), in Sudomekh (near St. Petersburg), in Nizhniy-Novgorod (formerly Gorkiy) and, finally, in Komsomolsk-na-Amure, have built submarines in the past.

In view of the fact that numerous ecological considerations have since had the result of slowing down or even closing some installations "only the Severodvinsk shipyard will be able, in the near future, to definitely carry out the dismantling operations" planned.

Severodvinsk, which started building sumbarines in 1942 after the loss of the Leningrad shipyards, is the biggest submarine shipyard in the world. But, so far, production capacity has fallen by half, probably "because of supply problems and the departure of a number of highly skilled workers."

"This is one of the main problems facing the leadership of the Russian military and industrial complex," the French officer writes. "They lack everything, financial resources, of course, but also know-how, materials, and even skilled workers who are deserting the shipyards.... We should not be indifferent to these problems. Of course, a disaster on the scale of Chernobyl will not be repeated with the naval propulsion reactors. But one or several accidents could cause considerable pollution," with the possible repercussions which any accident in Russia would have on international opinion.

Yeltsin Meets Former Japanese Prime Minister

LD1805155293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1529 GMT 18 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow May 18 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin received Japanese parliament deputy and ex-Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone in Kremlin today to discuss aspects of the Russian-Japanese relations and the Russian participation in the Tokyo "seven" meeting in July, the presidential press service reports.

Urges Flexibility on Territorial Issue

OW1905001893 Tokyo KYODO in English 2352 GMT 18 May 93

[Text] Moscow, May 19 KYODO—Russian President Boris Yeltsin called on Japan on Tuesday [18 May] to be flexible over a bilateral territorial dispute. Yeltsin made the request during a meeting with former Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone at the Kremlin.

He said the territorial dispute, involving four islands off Japan's northernmost main island of Hokkaido seized by the Soviet Red Army at the end of World War II, and the conclusion of a peace treaty are the biggest bilateral issues, Nakasone told reporters after the meeting.

If Japan presses the territorial issue, the domestic situation in Russia will not allow it to make concessions at a time when it is in economic difficulties, Yeltsin was quoted as saying.

Nakasone said Yeltsin urged Japan not to take up the territorial issue in a stern manner. Yeltsin said he wants to keep talks on the issue at the level of exchanges of views when he meets Japanese Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa in July, when he will be in Tokyo to meet leaders of the Group of Seven (G-7) industrial nations.

The former Japanese prime minister said he and Yeltsin agreed on the need to settle the territorial issue within this century.

Yeltsin said he wants to make the visit to Japan in September or October. He has twice called off visits to Japan in less than a year. He abruptly canceled a scheduled visit last September, citing domestic problems, but later blamed the cancellation on Japan's tough stance over the return of the four Russian-held islands. In April, Yeltsin said he would reschedule the visit for late May, but it was again called off.

Nakasone said Yeltsin agreed with his suggestion that he should express his regrets to the Japanese people for the postponements while he is in Tokyo for the G-7 summit. Miyazawa, as this year's chairman of the annual summit to be held in Tokyo from July 7 to 9, has invited Yeltsin to Tokyo for talks with the G-7 leaders.

Japanese Boats Detained for Fishing Near Kuril Islands

LD1905091093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0839 GMT 19 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Popov]

[Text] Vladivostok May 19 TASS—Three Japanese fishing vessels and a speedboat were detained by Russian border guards early on Tuesday [18 May] after they violated the Russian border and engaged in illegal fishing near the disputed Kuril islands.

The ships, some of which had a haul of crabs and flatfish, were taken to the Krabovaya bay of the island of Shikotan. The investigation will show whether the poachers will face criminal charges or will be simply deported from Russian territorial waters.

Poland's Goryszewski Visits Shokhin 18 May

Agreement on 'Zero Option' Reached

LD1805143993 Warsaw PAP in English 1209 GMT 18 May 93

[Text] Moscow, May 18—Visiting Polish Deputy Prime Minister Henryk Goryszewski and his Russian counterpart Aleksandr Shokhin, who met here on Tuesday [18 May] at the second round of talks, discussed financial issues and the problem of debts in mutual economic relations.

Polish and Russian delegations presented during the negotiations their solutions in clearing debts and although both countries agree with a "zero option" i.e. wiping out mutual debts, they failed to reach agreement on what this would really entail.

After the meeting both ministers signed a protocol that includes the list of some 20 documents to be prepared during the next two months, ahead of the visit of Russian President Boris Yeltsin to Poland. The exact date of his visit will be fixed in July.

Also on Tuesday, Goryszewski visited the Church of the Immaculate Conception in Moscow, which is being claimed by the Catholic community. Goryszewski also met Archbishop Tadeusz Kondrusiewicz who talked about the situation of the Roman Catholic Church in the European part of Russia.

Goryszewski Ends Visit

LD1805220393 Warsaw PAP in English 1843 GMT 18 May 93

[Text] Moscow, May 18—Deputy Prime Minister Henryk Goryszewski on Tuesday [18 May] ended his visit to Moscow, paid at the invitation of Deputy Chairman of the Russian Government Aleksandr Shokhin. The Polish-Russian talks resulted in the signing of a protocol, including a list of about 20 documents.

The documents are to be further worked on in the coming two months and signed during President Boris Yeltsin's visit to Poland. The exact date of the visit is to be fixed in July after Yeltsin's meeting with the G-7 group of states in Tokyo. It is most likely to take place in September.

The most important outcome of the Moscow talks is the specification of agreements relating to the construction of a gas pipeline across the Polish territory, allowing Russia to supply gas to Western Europe and the Russian region of Kaliningrad. In return for the participation in the implementation of the project Poland would receive 14 billion cubic metres of gas yearly.

No progress was made neither in solving the problem of mutual indebtedness, inherited from relations between Poland and the former Soviet Union, nor in the question of the present trade settlements. The two sides decided to establish a joint commission to deal with these problems and to examine conditions necessary to stimulate mutual economic cooperation with a view to restoring the previous level of the trade exchange.

The two sides generally accepted the so-called "zero option" meaning the annulment of mutual debts (some 8 billion transfer roubles on each of the sides) but could not reach agreement on the details. According to Goryszewski the settlement of financial problems between Poland and Russia requires a political decision.

As regards trade exchange between the two countries, Poland was very sceptical about the Russian suggestion to settle the current trade exchange in national currencies. According to Goryszewski this would lead to the actual crediting of the Russian industry by Poland.

Ending his visit to Russia, Goryszewski met with Roman Catholic Archbishop of Moscow Tadeusz Kondrusiewicz who acquainted him with the situation of the Roman Catholic Church in the European part of Russia.

Clinton Drops 'Transparent Hint' on Nuclear Testing

PM1905095993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 May 93 First Edition p 3

[Vladimir Mikheyev report: "Clinton Ready To Resume Nuclear Weapons Tests"]

[Text] During a two-day tour of New Mexico and California, President Clinton again focused the attention of the press and the public on the main theme of his election campaign—the "revival" of the U.S. economy—and at the same time reassured workers in the military-industrial complex that the government program for help to conversion will not pass them by.

When visiting the Los Alamos scientific laboratory, which was created exactly 50 years ago, Bill Clinton was truly amazed at scientists' successes in the field of conversion. Their past creations included the nuclear monster nicknamed "Little Boy" which destroyed Hiroshima in 1945, but now they are working here to perfect methods for diagnosing such illnesses as AIDS and leukemia, modeling environmentally clean automobiles, and developing methods of combatting environmental pollution.

To help the most powerful supercomputers to learn to think not in military terms but in civilian ones, Clinton has promised that such major think tanks as the Los Alamos and Livermore laboratories will be given subsidies from the conversion fund: In the next five years $19.6 billion is being assigned to conversion.

The main sensation to emerge from the trip out West was the president's transparent hint that nuclear tests will probably be resumed in order to maintain America's strategic arms in a proper state of combat readiness. This will happen after the 1 July expiry of the moratorium on nuclear explosions imposed by the Congress. The Energy Department, the Defense Department, and the State Departments have already given their approval. Admittedly, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency has warned that if this happens it can hardly be expected that Russia and France will continue to abide by their moratoriums.

Commander in Chief Interviewed on START II

PM1705152193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 May 93 First Edition pp 1, 2

[Military observer Viktor Litovkin report on interview with Colonel General Igor Sergeyev, commander in chief of Russian Strategic Rocket Forces; date and place of interview not given: "START II Not Yet Ratified, But Russia and United States Already Removing Obsolete Missiles From Duty"]

[Text] On 14 May the four Strategic Rocket Troops regiments stationed in the environs of Yoshkar-Ola (Republic of Mari El), the settlement of Bershet (Perm area), and the stations of Drovyannaya and Svobodnyy in Transbaykal are terminating the performance of alert duty. Although the Russian parliament has still not considered or ratified the START-II Treaty, 10 RS-12 ICBM's, known in the West as the SS-13, and 30 RS-10 ICBM's (SS-11) are being withdrawn from the ICBM effective combat strength.

Our military observer Viktor Litovkin asked Colonel General Igor Sergeyev, commander in chief of Russian Strategic Rocket Forces, to comment on this event.

Actually, the withdrawal of 40 of our missiles from our strength level has nothing to do with the START-II Treaty and there can be no question of any unilateral disarmament, the commander in chief said. This is a planned measure. The missiles that we are taking out of silos—and they include the famous "100" or UR-100K—belong to the second generation of our ICBM's. They were brought in to operation at the end of the sixties by the late Marshal of the Soviet Union Nikolay Krylov.

In its combat specifications and performance characteristics the UR-100K corresponds to the U.S. Minuteman-2. It is a single-warhead, liquid-propellant missile with very corrosive fuel, but it had already been "ampoulized," and that had enabled it to be on alert status in a fueled state up to the present time. The missile's launch weight is 50 tonnes and its throw-weight is over a tonne.

All periods in which these missiles could be kept on alert status have now expired. Both the guaranteed service life, which ended eight years ago, and the prolonged operational service life. A further increase in them is impermissible because that would mean a sharp increase

in operational expenditures and because of safety conditions. By 1995 approximately 60 percent of all the missile systems will have become obsolete, and we will be forced to remove them from alert status. Irrespective of the START-II Treaty's ratification.

But the combat readiness of Strategic Rocket Forces will not decrease one iota. The RS-10 and RS-12 will be replaced by up-to-date RS-12M (SS-25) mobile missile systems. They outperform the "100" in all respects. First, they possess great survivability, combat effectiveness, and accuracy. Second, they are more reliable and economical in operation; they have great efficiency and flexibility of combat command and control. Third, they are universal and can be used in both the mobile version and, after modernization, in the stationary version.

The RS-12 M missile's specifications and performance characteristics fully meet the required level of effectiveness. It is an intercontinental, solid-propellant missile equipped with the most up-to-date guidance system, and it can be readied from any location in a matter of seconds. It has a single warhead. The launch weight is 46 tonnes and the throw-weight 1 tonne.

I asked the general what would happen to the crews of the launchers being removed from alert status, the officers and warrant officers of the regiments being disbanded, and their families.

"We are trying not to lose a single man," Col. Gen. Sergeyev said. "The removal of obsolete systems from alert status is a planned, smooth process. We prepared for it in advance. It will enable us to redistribute specialists to the sectors where they are currently in short supply. The shortage of missilemen is very great, as is the case throughout the Army.

Those who have served the prescribed periods, the commander in chief says, will be discharged into the reserves. We will try to provide them with apartments and all the essentials. The remainder will take the places of officers who have gone to Armenia, Kazakhstan, Belarus, and Ukraine, and their other native states. Some of those left will be retrained in the new system.

Thus, for example, in Bershet we have up-to-date ICBM railroad systems. Officers and warrant officers from the disbanded regiment which had UR-100K's will, after appropriate retraining, be transferred to serve in them.

We are not losing a single unit of our social infrastructure in military camps (housing, kindergartens, schools, hospitals, stores), nor are we losing combat guidance and control systems. On the contrary, we are going to construct more.

"How are things going with cutting the U.S. missile potential? Are they waiting for ratification of the START-II Treaty; are they improving their strategic forces?" I enquired of the general.

"I can tell what specifically is happening in U.S. strategic offensive forces only from information I obtain from the open press, reports from independent international institutes, and General Staff materials," says Sergeyev, who has never himself been across the ocean.

I know that since 1991 they have cut the total number of delivery platforms by 10 percent or 195 units, while the number of nuclear warheads has decreased by 22 percent or approximately 2,500. I think that this too is a smooth process which does not depend on the START-II Treaty. Like us, they are removing old systems from operational status—the Poseidon S-3 submarine-launched ballistic missile and B-52 strategic bombers. They are being replaced by more up-to-date, economic, and effective systems.

In the United States the program to qualitatively improve the strategic offensive forces' nuclear triad continues to operate. Structural command and control of them is also being improved. Last year, for example, a unified strategic command was created, which was made responsible for the functions of operational command and control of all three constituents of the strategic forces: land-based ICBM's, sea-based nuclear-powered ballistic-missile submarines with submarine-launched ballistic missiles, and aviation—heavy bombers.

Here, the general noted, I would like to draw your attention to the following peculiarity. Previously, both in our country and theirs, a new system was not adopted and the old one was not removed while on alert status. Now old ones are being removed but new ones are not always being introduced. And even if they are being introduced, it is in a considerably smaller volume than previously.

Quotas and the strategic balance remain approximately equal, but the accents have been changed. There is greater trust in each other and predictability of behavior, and greater concern for the safety of strategic facilities, the orderly state of nuclear complexes, and the impermissibility of unauthorized use of ICBM's, and this inspires optimism.

We are not in fact reducing combat readiness requirements, Gen. Sergeyev says. They have in some places become tougher.

When talking to the Russian Strategic Rocket Forces commander in chief I naturally could not miss the opportunity to ask about the technical condition of the missile complexes located in Ukraine and about what has changed there following the item in IZVESTIYA and the contacts between the two countries' missilemen held since then.

We are carrying out joint practical work to maintain the missile complexes in Khmelnitskiy and Pervomaysk in a minimum technically safe condition, Gen. Sergeyev said, within the constraints of our available resources. Unfortunately, no interstate agreement on design and guarantee supervision [avtorskiy i garantiynyy nadzor] over these complexes has yet been signed, ownership questions have not been resolved, and the Ukrainian

parliament has not ratified the START-I Treaty. Without this the problems concerning the safety of nuclear missile weapons will only get worse.

I asked the Strategic Rocket Forces commander in chief about one other thing. Is the delay over the ratification of the START-II Treaty in the Russian parliament affecting the rocket forces' combat state?

"It has not affected us at all so far," the general replied. "We are and will remain in a state of high combat readiness. I am sure that, granted any treaty restrictions, by virtue of the qualities objectively inherent in them and moreover with minimal expenditure on their maintenance and development compared with other branches of the service the Strategic Rocket Forces will retain their leading role in Russia's nuclear triad and remain a reliable stabilizing and deterrent factor."

Natural, planned cuts are under way in our country now, but if the treaty ratification process is protracted they could ultimately create an advantage to one of the participants and lead to a sharp imbalance in strategic forces in favor of the United States. That would seriously harm the disarmament process and the strengthening of international trust, the Russian Strategic Rocket Forces commander in chief said.

U.S., Russian Arctic Rescue Teams Received

PM1805155193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 May 93 p 2

[Colonel Aleksandr Andryushkov report: "Russian Rescuers Guests of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA"]

[Text] A meeting between the participants in the first joint Russo-U.S. exercises for aerospace search and rescue services for those in distress in the Arctic was held 13 May with KRASNAYA ZVEZDA journalists. The editorial office played host to Major General Gennadiy Amelkin, chief of the Russian Federal Aerospace Search and Rescue Service (FASRS); Lieutenant Colonel Anton A. Trizyak [surname as transliterated], assistant U.S. air attache in Russia; and parachute rescue personnel Colonels Valeriy Bruss, Valeriy Stepanov, and Boris Kudryashov, and Lieutenant Colonel Nikolay Ankinovich.

The journalists were familiarized with the means used to rescue and evacuate those in distress.

Commentary on Military Conversion in Russia, U.S.

LD1805194393 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1710 GMT 18 May 93

[Announcer-read Vladislav Kozyakov commentary]

[Excerpts] The problems that are being widely discussed in the United States during President Bill Clinton's current tour of the country include conversion of military production. Similar problems receive primary attention also in Russia. More on the subject from our observer Vladislav Kozyakov:

I would call the process of conversion one of the fruit of the post Cold War period, Vladislav Kozyakov writes, and although it's created a lot of problems in many countries in the final analysis conversion promises a lot of benefits to the nation. This is natural since it provides for the rechannelling of huge resources of industrial and intellectual potential from arms manufacture to the manufacture of civilian products.

Although Americans are concerned with such matters as the need of retraining personnel, changing priorities in production and scientific research, Russians are confronted with the same problems but on a larger scale.

Here are some estimates made by experts: for example, Russia plans to reduce military production within five years by about five per cent of its GNP [gross national product] annually as compared to 0.5 percent a year in the United States. This means that scale of conversion in Russia will be 10 times more and consequently it will be much more difficult for it to resolve all the problems involved.

There's another example as well. The United States has set itself the task of securing about $20 billion within five years to support companies transferring to civilian production. In Russia industries lost more than 60 percent of their military orders last year alone. Since the government had no funds to regear them to civilian production only six percent of industrial capacities were converted.

Yet despite all the difference in scale and rates of conversion in Russia and in the United States the two countries have much in common in the field.

First of all both want to see the process gather momentum. Both are interested in bilateral cooperation in the sphere. In Russia and in the United States experts are preparing concrete proposals on this score. And what's especially important is the establishment of increasingly broader contacts between scientists, heads of factories and research centers in both countries. [passage omitted]

No matter how serious the problems of conversion are international cooperation is capable of facilitating their solution and cooperation between Russia and the United States will probably still keep its word [as heard] in this new and complicated undertaking.

Program Discusses West's Role in Military Conversion

LD1905052493

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1945 GMT on 18 May carries a 30-minute recorded program entitled "The West on Russian-Style Conversion," presented by Kipras Mazhayka from Brussels. The introduction notes that the Foreign Affairs Commission of the European Parliament recently held hearings on reforms in Russia which were attended by a Russian parliamentary delegation and a delegation from the Western Group of Forces. Mazhayka notes that after

the hearings some of the participants continued the discussion for the benefit of Russian Television cameras.

The participants from the Russian side are G.S. Khizha, with no position identified; M.D. Maley, adviser to the Russian president on conversion matters; I.S. Silayev, Russian ambassador to the EC; A.S. Golubkov, chairman of the Russian Federation Committee for Informatics; and V.Ya. Vitebskiy, deputy chairman of the Committee for Industry and Power Engineering and head of the Supreme Soviet group for deputies' control of military-technical cooperation.

The participants from the European side are Fred Catherwood, chairman of the European Parliament's Foreign Affairs Commission; Sven Hegstad, deputy director of the European Bank of Reconstruction and Development (EBRD); Peter Sipos, consultant to the European Parliament; Norman Scott, director of the UN Economic Commission for Europe; and K. Holzeuss, a German representative at the European Parliament.

Mazhayka begins by briefly recalling the former glories of the Soviet defense industry and asks Khizha to comment on the extent of conversion to date. Khizha says:

"In spite of the landslide nature of conversion—as you know, we reduced orders for weapons and military equipment by almost two- thirds in one year—and in spite of the fact that a catastrophic situation was created at many defense industry enterprises, nevertheless a certain amount of funds was allocated last year and enterprises have been able in this short period to sharply reduce the output of military equipment and increase the output of civilian equipment.

"They were already producing some civilian equipment. Preparations for this had been under way for several years; even before this the defense complex produced up to 50 percent of civilian output. Over the past year they managed to raise their output of such very important and quite complicated devices as microwave ovens, which we practically did not produce at all in the past. They began making a lot more refrigerators. They are maintaining at quite a high level the production of televisions and tape recorders. All of this modern equipment is being produced and production is increasing day by day. They have begun to make a great amount of medical apparatus, complicated medical equipment, using the most modern achievements.

"I hope that the funds that parliament has allocated this year—and there is considerably more money than last year—will help to implement the planned 1993-1995 conversion programs which were launched last year and that the defense industry will be able to function normally in the future, after it has changed its output."

Catherwood and Hegstad speak of the need to attract private investment from the West. Mazhayka then asks Maley if Russia has a clear state strategy on conversion and the marketing of models abroad. Maley says:

"We must have a clearly worked-out Russian foreign policy. There must also be a clearly worked-out Russian military doctrine. Conversion is secondary to these two attributes of state policy, which already determines the volume of enterprises that have to be converted. The expert assessment is that with regard to the scale of the present military-industrial complex in Russia, it will be sufficient for us to have about 30 percent of existing enterprises in the future.

"Now, with regard to the question as to why we put our new products on display in Abu Dhabi and what this implies: In an open and saturated market, one can trade only in competitive products. Competitive products are those new products which are provided by our Russian intellectual potential and our industry. Therefore, we displayed about 10 percent of what we have and consumers responded quite actively to the military equipment and these new products for military-technical use.

"According to an expert assessment, the Russian Federation's potential in markets which are new to us—markets in Europe, the United States, and other developed states—is up to $10 billion per year. Let me stress what markets these are: They are not the markets of Iran or Iraq, Libya, or other states to which we previously supplied equipment.

"The concept of conversion has undergone some really strong changes in the past year, I would say. We have ceased to be greater pacifists than the people who thought up this word. In this situation we are going to make use of the possibilities of our military-industrial complex to help the reforms. This is well understood by the labor collectives and the directors of enterprises. I think that the social sphere will also understand us—just for the transitional period we worked, we are working, and we will continue to work in this sphere.

"The U.S. ambassador recalled today that we allegedly intend to sell two submarines to Iran, but at the same time America has sold a huge consignment of aircraft to Taiwan. Well, one can give various assessments. I understand that competition is competition. We were grateful for such an action by America, as this took the moral pressure off Russia with our modest supplies.

"Conversion must be financed from work in the military-industrial complex itself. We must not borrow from the West. We must not take money from old people and children for these purposes. We are capable of earning the money for conversion and of giving cash to the treasury during the transitional period. I have done quite a lot of work on this. I thank the president for understanding this correctly and we shall continue to do so."

Mazhayka asks: "So you think that we do not need any financial or technical help from the West and that we can resolve all these conversion problems ourselves?" Maley responds:

"You know, if I were to say jokingly to President Yeltsin that we should be left out of the state budget and allowed

to act with a completely free hand, then we would not need help from the West. But since we have extremely strict restrictions from the president and are unable to act where we could, then we need help and we will not reject it. At the conference today I said that it is not just us who need help. France, Britain, and Germany need help in converting their military-industrial complexes. We are repeating the same mistakes and are not acting in a coordinated way in carrying out conversion in Russia, the United States, and here in Europe, and we are striking out at each other instead of making economical use of the existing resources."

Sipos and Scott note that the West can help with Russian conversion efforts.

Silayev, speaking as a veteran of the aircraft industry rather than as ambassador, praises the progressive role of enterprise directors and says that the best way to help them would be to give them profitable, guaranteed state orders for several years ahead and a free hand in converting remaining capacities. An international fund should be set up to ensure joint projects.

Holzeuss compares the conversion experience in Eastern Europe and calls for stronger leadership. Khizha then says:

"Several people here have stated that, unfortunately, little Western private investment, private capital, is entering the Russian market and that unfortunately there are very few serious projects and little money. I think that to a considerable extent this is connected with the fact that there are very few serious projects at a Western level. When we get proper projects which are comprehensible to Western investors, I am sure that these projects will find financing and, with the help of the EBRD and private investment, we will make progress here.

"The second point is what Ivan Stepanovich Silayev has mentioned: Insurance and guarantees must be in place. We are currently creating such a system and it would be a good thing to involve those resources which the EC intends to allocate for this aim. Then, I think, we would make progress on this problem."

Golubkov notes that Soviet computer technology has been subordinated to the needs of the military-industrial complex and lags behind that of the West. Moreover, the collapse of the USSR has left much of the computer capacity outside Russia. He says: "I would like to see from the EC, its parliament, considerable help in transferring technologies which would raise the level of our electronics and allow us to resolve problems of integration into the world community and, first, the EC."

Vitebskiy wraps up the talks by noting that he would like the European Parliament to institute the necessary legislation to support joint ventures.

Ties Restored With Czech Intelligence; CIA Meeting Planned

MK1905092093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 May 93 p 1

[Andrey Poleshchuk report: "Russian, Czech Intelligence Services Reestablish Relations. Yevgeniy Primakov To Meet CIA Director Soon"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Tatyana Samolis, press secretary for Yevgeniy Primakov, director of the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service [FIS], who accompanied Mr. Primakov on his trip to the Czech Republic, said that the visit was of great significance because it contributed to the reestablishment of relations between the special services of the two countries, which were severed some time ago.

"We are not, however, speaking of a return to the level that had existed in the time of the USSR," Ms. Samolis emphasized. "We will cooperate with the Czech intelligence service, but not on an ideological basis. Our collaboration will be carried out in the areas where the interests of the two countries coincide—of course, not to the detriment of third countries."

Tatyana Samolis specified that this means, first and foremost, joint action to counter the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. The Czech Republic, located in the center of Europe, has become one of the routes for the illegal transportation of nuclear fuel, raw materials, and certain parts and technologies required for the creation of weapons of mass destruction. It is well known that a number of the former republics of the USSR—at least theoretically—could become sources of the spread of nuclear bomb components. Obviously, an exchange of information on the problem is not only useful, it is indispensable. In addition, the special services of Russia and the Czech Republic have agreed to coordinate their efforts in fighting international terrorism.

"These are just some of the areas of our cooperation. Undoubtedly, their number may increase stemming from the interests of both sides," Tatyana Samolis said.

According to Samolis, the Czech press paid great attention to the visit by Yevgeniy Primakov. The publications had a generally favorable tone, although some of them could not do without speculation. For instance, about the alleged transfer of lists of former KGB agents to the Czech special service.

"No discussion on the subject has been held; the Czech side has not raised the issue, either," the FIS director's press secretary said. "The intelligence service did not engage in recruiting agents from among citizens of the former socialist countries. Our colleagues know this perfectly well. As for revealing secret sources of intelligence information, putting the question like this is

inappropriate: neither we nor professionals from other intelligence services will ever demand this." [passage omitted]

As became known to NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, in the very near future a meeting is planned between Yevgeniy Primakov and the leadership of the CIA.

Grachev Comments on Karabakh Conflict, Arms Sales to Turkey

NC1805135793 Yerevan SNARK in English 1139 GMT 18 May 93

[Text] Moscow, 18 May (SNARK)—Turkey, Russia and the USA show their interest to the peaceful regulation of the Karabakh conflict, Army General Pavel Grachev, Russian defense minister, announced at yesterday's press-conference. He also informed during his visit to Turkey he had met practically with all the political and military leaders of the Republic. Grachev suggested the beginning of the negotiations. According to him, not only Armenia and Azerbaijan but also the Karabakh authorities should participate in the negotiations. He added that Turkey is trying to accuse Armenia of the aggression. Russia can't agree to the accusation.

There is certain disagreement between Russia and Turkey on the Bosnian conflict. Russia takes the same position of the peaceful regulation of the conflict.

Russia is going to sell armaments and ammunition to Turkey. There has been already concluded the contract between Russia and Turkey. The price of the contract is 75 million dollars. According to the contract, Russia has already sent to Turkey 20 military machines and 25 helicopters. In the nearest future Russia is ready to build the enterprise to produce artillery and anti-tank ammunition, to install the automatic line to produce patrons [as received], to cooperate in the sphere of aircraft and naval military machines. The sides came to the conclusion on exchange of the specialists and the students of higher military institutions. Russian minister mentioned that concluding the military and technical agreement Russia pointed the impossibility to transfer Russian weapons to the third side. Grachev said that he is aware of those facts when the weapons were delivered to Azerbaijan from third states. Pavel Grachev refrained from naming the states. The Russian Defense Department is anxious with the fate of the Russian military men who have been passed a death statement. Grachev also informed he, the Russian President Boris Yeltsin, the head of the Russian Parliament Ruslan Khasbulatov, made numerous requirements to the Azerbaijani Military Department and to the Azerbaijani President Abulfaz Elchibey to transfer these military men to the Russian investigating bodies. No response.

Abkhazia Peace Will Need 'A Lot More Effort'

PM1805154593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 May 93 pp 1, 3

[Vladimir Urban article: "War in Abkhazia Will Resolve Nothing. Only Peace Here Will Promote Development of Russian-Georgian Relations"]

[Text] Last Friday, in addition to the meeting of CIS heads of state, another event occurred which influenced the situation in the potholed political area formed in place of the USSR. This was the Kremlin talks between Boris Yeltsin and Eduard Shevardnadze.

Russia's relations have not evolved so dramatically and unevenly with any of the republics of the former Union as with Georgia. Economic ties have been practically eliminated. There is still no large-scale interstate treaty. Attacks are being made on servicemen of the Group of Russian Forces in the Transcaucasus. The Georgian-Abkhazian armed conflict, which has now been going on for almost a year, has exacerbated our relations to the point of overt demarches. None of the provisions of the 3 September 1992 joint accords on Abkhazia is being fulfilled.

But there is also an example of a different kind. The agreement on South Ossetia, signed by Boris Yeltsin and Eduard Shevardnadze last June, is still in effect, and the truce in South Ossetia is being maintained virtually on its basis. So the 14 May working meeting of the two leaders was, naturally, to have determined the options for settling another conflict—the Abkhazian one, which has become the chief obstacle in the way of normalizing Russian-Georgian relations.

Back in April Boris Yeltsin was categorically opposed to a summit because Georgia had not withdrawn its troops from Abkhazia. Why has Russia now taken steps toward Georgia? There are several reasons, one of them being the positive changes in the internal political situation in Georgia. The "architects" of the anti-Gamsakhurdia coup have resigned from high posts—Tengiz Kitovani and Dzhaba Ioseliani, who controlled all the armed detachments and exercised control without any reference to the republic's political leadership. Their resignation makes it possible to conclude that Eduard Shevardnadze's positions have been strengthened.

It should also be mentioned that only recently the Georgian side was insisting on the conclusion of a bilateral political treaty without any prior conditions concerning the conflict in Abkhazia, but now Eduard Shevardnadze is prepared to make certain concessions. During the working meeting in the Kremlin Boris Yeltsin and Eduard Shevardnadze confirmed the need to urgently complete the preparation of a "major treaty." But it follows from the communique that the sides will seek its speediest signing, "given favorable conditions, particularly the successful course of a settlement in Abkhazia."

Now about what could be the most important thing. An accord was reached on a cease-fire in Abkhazia as of 20 May this year, "having in mind that all the formations involved in the conflict will cease the combat use of aircraft and artillery and will subsequently withdraw heavy military hardware from the conflict zone." It was also decided to accelerate the preparation of documents in time for a second top-level meeting on Abkhazia.

But the good news from Moscow evidently does not reach the area of the conflict so quickly. Last weekend the Russian seismic laboratory at Eshery, where our paratroops are stationed, was once again subjected to artillery fire from Georgian positions. As for the Abkhazian side, Vladislav Ardzinba, chairman of the republic's parliament, while on the whole supporting the results of the meeting between Boris Yeltsin and Eduard Shevardnadze, stated his consent to a cease-fire only if the Georgian formations are withdrawn from Abkhazian territory.

So both Georgia and Russia, which has real influence in this region, will have to make quite a lot more effort to establish peace in Abkhazia. There is another important aspect of the talks to which attention should be drawn. To judge from the final communique of the Moscow meeting, questions concerning the Russian troops' presence in Georgia, their legal status, and the servicemen's safety were also discussed there. It was precisely on the eve of the Kremlin meeting that the situation with regard to the Group of Russian Forces in the Transcaucasus' military camp in Kutaisi, which was attacked by subunits of Dzhaba Ioseliani's "Mkhedrioni," had been exacerbated. If that was a provocation aimed at wrecking Eduard Shevardnadze's trip to Moscow, it failed. Nevertheless, the problems of our troops' safety remain topical and need to be resolved without delay.

Army General Pavel Grachev, Russian Federation minister of defense, and Brigade General Georgiy Karkarashvili, who was recently appointed Georgian minister of defense, had a meeting Saturday. Pavel Grachev declared during the dialogue that the chief condition for resolving all questions must be an immediate cease-fire by the sides in the conflict, after which it would be possible to sign a bilateral treaty of collective security between Georgia and Russia. Georgiy Karkarashvili in turn stated the Georgian Defense Ministry's readiness to take responsibility for any attacks on Russian troops, while at the same time insisting on the need for their speediest withdrawal from Georgia. An accord on the setting up of joint expert groups was reached during the meeting. They will draw up a package of proposals and hold consultations on the problem of the Russian troops' presence on Georgian territory.

Leadership Urged To Pull Troops Out of Georgia

PM1805155993 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 18 May 93 p 1

[Yu. Lakerbay commentary: "We Should Not Be Horse-Trading"]

[Text] The consultative meeting between the Russian president and the speaker of the Georgian parliament is over. As are the talks between the two defense ministers—Grachev and Karkarashvili—that followed it.

They did not have any desirable outcome for the Georgian leadership, despite the lengthy Shevardnadze-Kitovani-Karkarashvili maneuvering that preceded them. The replacement of the aggressively minded Kitovani with a senior Soviet Army lieutenant who was promoted overnight to Georgian Army major general, and the already compulsory provocation of the Russian military bound to have taken place in Kutaisi have essentially changed little.

Withdrawing Russian troops from the conflict zone was once again the theme that was voiced—as before—and, once again, it was rejected by Grachev's department. And a treaty with Georgia, which Shevardnadze needs so much in order to hang on to power in a country that has been impoverished and divided into mafia spheres of influence, has been made directly dependent on a cease-fire in Abkhazia—something which does not suit the Tbilisi team.

Ardzinba, chairman of the Abkhaz parliament, has stated that the Abkhaz side unconditionally agrees to a cease-fire on the condition of a Georgian troop withdrawal. The Abkhaz parliamentary press service reports that Ardzinba has noted that the Moscow meeting between Yeltsin and Shevardnadze reaffirmed Russia's principled stance on the need for an immediate troop withdrawal and cessation of hostilities.

Georgian diplomacy is a unique thing anyway. Its principle is—do everything for us and we may do something for you. Even the exceedingly conciliatory, if not timid, Russian Foreign Ministry finds it pretty hard to go down that road.

So just how are the Russian troops interfering in the conflict zone, and what kind of troops are they?

There is the Gudauta military airfield and a small paratroop regiment. That is all. And they are are not taking part in the fighting. But they are interfering. Very much so.

Diplomacy is all very well, but it is time the Russian leadership called a spade a spade and put a stop to this bloody horse-trading.

Foreign Ministry Aide on Veto of UN Cyprus Resolution

PM1905105193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 May 93 First Edition p 3

[Gennadiy Charodeyev report: "Moscow Opposes Mandatory Contributions to Financing 'Blue Berets' on Cyprus"]

[Text] Russia's veto in the UN Security Council during the vote on financing the "blue berets" on Cyprus has produced surprise in Nicosia.

An official statement broadcast on local radio points out that Russia's stance will complicate the situation surrounding the Cyprus issue on the eve of the talks on a Cyprus settlement scheduled to be held in New York 24 May. The Cypriots have been extremely surprised that Moscow should have made the decision to apply the veto for the first time in the last nine years despite the fact that all other Security Council members unanimously supported the resolution. Cypriot Government representative Y. Kasoulidhis has also stated that it regards what has happened as "strong pressure."

The Russian side's stance was explained to your IZVESTIYA correspondent by S. Yastrzhembskiy, director of the Foreign Ministry Press and Information Department. He noted that UN forces on Cyprus have hitherto been financed on a voluntary basis. The draft resolution put forward by Britain envisaged partially switching them to financing through mandatory contributions by all UN members. Russia was forced to block the adoption of this resolution.

The Foreign Ministry representative stressed that this had been done without any ulterior political motive whatsoever; it had been done purely out of financial considerations related to the need to maintain rather than curtail the practice of voluntary financing of UN peacekeeping operations.

This is the most unfavorable time for Russia to assume extra financial commitments, Yastrzhembskiy went on.

According to the director of the department, if the solution of the Cyprus problem had in any way depended on the vote on the aforementioned resolution, Moscow would have been ready to agree to the relevant proposal by the British representative.

Khasbulatov Meets With South African Ambassador

LD1805134493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1247 GMT 18 May 93

[Text] Moscow May 18 TASS—Ruslan Khasbulatov, speaker of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet received Gerrit Cornelius Olivier, South African ambassador to Russia on Tuesday [18 May].

The two statesmen expressed confidence that cooperation between the two countries, formerly limited to exploration of the Antarctic, will take a turn for the better and become an important factor which will determine the success of reforms both in Russia and South Africa.

Olivier expressed the hope that Russia would support the progressive, democratic reforms of the De Klerk government in South Africa. According to him, economic success is now important both for Russia and South Africa.

"Otherwise right and left radicals will unite and form an opposition to centrist forces." The South African ambassador recognised that the reform process in South Africa has reached such a stage that it is no longer possible to return to the past.

Comments on Constitution

LD1805124093 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1200 GMT 18 May 93

[Text] While receiving Gerrit Cornelius Olivier, the ambassador of the Republic of South Africa to Russia, today, Ruslan Khasbulatov said that a compromise between the president and the Supreme Soviet is inevitable during the adoption of a new constitution. In Khasbulatov's view, the essence of transitional processes in Russia today lies not so much in a constitutional crisis but failures in the economy.

Communications Agreement Signed With Canada

LD1805195593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1922 GMT 18 May 93

[Text] Moscow May 18 TASS—A Russian-Canadian agreement was signed at the Russian Foreign Ministry here today to establish direct governmental communications between Moscow and Canada, in accordance with a summit agreement.

Deputy Russian Foreign Minister Georgiy Mamedov signed the agreement for Russia, and Canadian Ambassador to Moscow Jeremy Kinsman signed the document for Canada, the Russian Foreign Ministry's Information and Press Department reports.

Ambartsumov on Prospects for Admission to Council of Europe

LD1805165293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1600 GMT 18 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow May 18 TASS—The admission of Russia to the Council of Europe (CE) "depends to a great extent on the development of the situation in our country," Yevgeniy Ambartsumov, chairman of the Committee of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation on International Affairs and Foreign Economic Ties, said with a reference to the opinions of a number of members of the Council of Europe. Yevgeniy Ambartsumov spoke at today's news conference on the results of the trip of the delegation of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation to a session of the parliamentary assembly held in Strasbourg.

It is not a question of the admission or non-admission of Russia to the Council of Europe, the head of the Russian delegation said. But this organisation is concerned about the "absence of political stability, the vague situation with the constitution and parliament". It is necessary for

Russia to "have a normal constitution and form a usual, not two-chamber, parliament", some members of the Council of Europe say.

According to Yevgeniy Ambartsumov, it is planned, as the preparatory steps for Russia's entry into the Council of Europe, to carry out a number of serious measures, including visits to Moscow of the secretary-general of the Council of Europe and later the chairman of this organisation, and jurists who will study specifically the conformity of the Russian Constitution to the international standards of human rights.

Stressing the importance of the theme of human rights, the chairman of the Committee of the Russian Supreme Soviet expressed the hope that the new Estonian leadership would promote the observance of generally recognized standards of human rights in this republic, despite the fact that their violation "did not become an obstacle to the admission of Estonia to the Council of Europe".

Council of Europe Stance on Estonian, Russian Entry Viewed

PM1905083993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 May 93 First Edition p 3

[Yuriy Kovalenko report: "Estonia Joins Council of Europe. Question of Russia's Admittance Remains Open"]

[Text] Strasbourg—Estonia has become the 29th state to join the Council of Europe. At the official ceremony Friday morning that country's flag was raised, together with the flags of just-admitted Lithuania and Slovenia, on the flagpole of the Palais d'Europe in Strasbourg, where the Council of Europe headquarters are situated.

Pressure exerted by Moscow, which tried to block Estonia's membership on the grounds that the rights of Russians are being violated in that country, proved abortive. What is more, the attempts were rejected as unacceptable interference in the Council of Europe's affairs on the part of a state which is not a full-fledged member.

As a result the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly voted virtually unanimously in favor of admitting Estonia. Only two Communist parliamentarians—a Portuguese and a Greek—dissented. Here the latter stated that the position in which Russians find themselves in Estonia could pose a threat of civil war.

Parliamentarians fired a number of criticals shots over Foreign Minister Kozyrev's letter to the secretary general of the Council of Europe in which he described Estonia's admittance as "premature." (True, some deputies did regard it as an act chiefly intended for "home consumption".)

In this pretty charged atmosphere the message sent by N. Ryabov, deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, to the chairman of the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly requesting the "deferment" of Estonia's admittance came across as manifestly going too far.

After which certain parliamentarians who do think that Russians' rights are indeed being violated in Estonia preferred to close ranks and oppose the Moscow demarche.

Estonia and other former Soviet republics should certainly become members of the Council of Europe, Ye. Ambartsumov, head of the Russian delegation and chairman of the International Affairs and Foreign Economic Relations Committee, told me in conversation. But, in his opinion, all countries should meet the Council of Europe's requirements in the sphere of human rights in equal measure. Ambartsumov does, however, see the fact that henceforth the Council of Europe will be able exercise stricter monitoring of the situation in that state as a gratifying aspect of Estonia's membership. As far as the Russians living there are concerned, they receive the opportunity to appeal to the European Commission on Human Rights and the European Court for the Protection of Human Rights.

And Council of Europe Secretary General Catherine Lalumiere does not deem it necessary to overdramatize the "incident" concerning the Russian minister's letter, according to the head of our delegation. In her opinion it was dictated by domestic political considerations.

The "key question"—the question of the admittance to the organization of Russia, which asked to become a member a year ago now—has been discussed both at the session of the Parliamentary Assembly and in the corridors of the Palais d'Europe. While this request was greeted with enthusiasm, LE MONDE notes, misgivings subsequently surfaced. They took it upon themselves to verify how democratic Russia's institution are, the newspaper writes, what future lies in store for its minorities, and so forth.

There are other reasons, too.

You get the impression, Ambartsumov said, that a new approach, as it were, to the rules of Russia's admittance has emerged. It seems that our internal feuds, which are seen as evidence of instability, are tending to delay Russia's membership. The confrontation between the president and parliament produce an adverse impression on the Council of Europe.

Trade Pacts Reached With Estonia, But Troops Issue Remains

PM1905094993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 May 93 p 1

[RIA report under "From Our News Bureau" rubric: "Latest Round of Russian-Estonian Talks"]

[Text] "One of the positive results of the 11th round of Russian-Estonian talks, which has ended in Tallinn, is the initialing of an agreement on trade and economic agreements" [as published], Vasiliy Svirin, head of the Russian delegation, told a RIA correspondent.

"Unfortunately, we failed to complete the preparation of drafts of a treaty on the withdrawal of Russian troops from Estonia, on the conditions of their temporary presence there, and on social protection for military pensioners and members of their families," the Russian delegation head said.

Political Issues

Yeltsin Chairs Meeting on Crime, May Day Events

LD1905085693 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 19 May 93

[Report by Georgiy Savtsov]

[Text] Russian Federation President Yeltsin is chairing a session of the inter-departmental Security Council in the Kremlin which began at 1100 today. The two items on the agenda are the crime situation and information obtained from Prime Minister Chernomyrdin on May Day events in Moscow. At Yeltsin's suggestion the session started with discussion of the second item—as usual, behind closed doors.

Attending are Prime Minister Chernomyrdin; Mikhail Mityukov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet's legislation commission; Security Minister Barannikov; Internal Affairs Minister Yerin; Procurator General Valentin Stepankov; members of the Security Council; and staff from the President's apparatus.

Procurator General Reports Local Bodies Exceeding Powers

LD1905092293 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 0730 GMT 19 May 93

[Text] Russian Procurator General Valentin Stepankov has sent a report to the president and Russian Supreme Soviet on illegal legislation being created by local authorities and administrations. The soviets and local administrations everywhere, the document says, are going beyond the bounds of the powers given to them and bringing in new forms of administrative liability, increasing the size of fines, and instituting taxes, levies, and payments not provided for by the law. The report notes in particular that these actions and decisions, which run counter to the constitution, are not being duly appraised by Russia's Supreme Soviet.

'Cadre Purge' Presages 'Strong-Arm' Yeltsin Strategy

PM1905112993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 May 93 pp 1,2

[Aleksey Vorobyev "Weekly Review": "Expecting Something Very Nasty To Happen to Oneself and to One's Family"]

[Text] The package of edicts on deepening all manner of reforms which the president's supporters so stridently and profoundly threatened their opponents with has not actually materialized in the three weeks since the referendum. Although one might have expected fanfares to announce the removal of the most fantastic program of transformations from a secret cache.

Instead they dealt with cadre matters. And we were mightily puzzled: No doubt the package contains the kind of thing that can only be revealed to the world in the presence of a tight-knit circle of loyal and devoted servants.

Actually, there are many explanations for delaying the issuing of the formidable edicts. Let us try to pick out a few of the main ones.

In his efforts to win the referendum at any price, the president gambled on radical democratic groupings and merely succeeded in encouraging their outlandish radicalism and overweening self-confidence. The payment they demanded was a wholesale cadre purge, reckoning that only they are capable of reforming society.

According to a number of authoritative experts, these cadre excesses immediately exacerbated many conflicts within the executive. Some top officials started talking about a "witch-hunt," not without reason; others, also with good reason, discerned in the cadre rotation the celebrated collectivization practice, whereby a semiliterate party worker or village lumpen was sent to teach agriculture to the well-to-do kulaks.

The attempt to promote people in accordance with the personal or party loyalty principle made the positions of both the prime minister's allies and the members of Gaydar's team shaky. The dismissals of Skokov and Khizha (and the new appointments) by no means increased "team uniformity," but, objectively speaking, merely helped to distance it from the president's inner circle—the "leading cadres factory."

This distance will increase with new or, rather, unexpected appointments.

Here we have the first serious mistake in the president's new tactics. When you take this path it is inevitable that you will need to change the entire executive authority, and not only in the center, but in the provinces as well. At each step down on the executive ladder they will demand more and more of their "own" people, since authority based entirely on personal devotion is doomed to be suspended in a vacuum forever, because it is incapable of sticking to the principles of democracy and political pluralism. And at every step local leaders will become increasingly resistant to people selected for promotion by the center.

I think the second mistake is in the actual scheme for preparing and introducing the aforementioned reform package, if it actually exists. Even if a team of analysts had created a very promising program, the very confidentiality of the study would greatly hamper its implementation. Since such documents have to be the product of extensive public accord, otherwise the plans will be nipped in the bud.

Was the president's draft a touchstone enabling him to swiftly ascertain the negative response of the representatives of the various branches of power to the center's

drastic, radical actions? Is that why they have kept the much publicized package of edicts back for the time being?

The events of the first half of May obviously cowed certain political leaders somewhat, convincing them that it was a short step from the "victory" of one part of the country's population over the other to widespread confrontation. Our society is not merely politicized today, it is the victim, if one may put it this way, of political nerve gas and is filled with a kind of negative emotional energy.

In this situation any policy that contains the germ of confrontation exposes itself at each step, revealing more and more sores and blemishes. And, just as surely, it will lose its popularity among various social groups, driving away even its consistent supporters.

We may soon find out whether the president's advisers have been able to adapt his strategy and tactics to today's Russian realities. There is no doubt, though, that the details of an extremely radical, "strong-arm" version are now being worked on and the start of the cadre purge is the prelude to it. This is evidenced not only by certain nervous and extremist statements by Vice Premier Shakhray, who publicly brandished the threat both of the "president's implementation of many of the provisions of his 20 March television speech" and of the prospect of civil war. There is also the fact that they invariably enlist the security and internal affairs ministers for measures involving the president, trying to tie them securely to the presidential team's policy.

But the futility of the strong-arm version is due not only to the relevant ministries' negative atttitude toward it, but to the particular conditions of Russian today, to the multiplicity of sociopolitical groups in it. So the pause is most likely to end with a round of serious talks.

Ryabov Calls For End to Confrontation With Yeltsin

LD1805105893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1025 GMT 18 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow May 18 TASS—Deputy parliament speaker Nikolay Ryabov proved on Tuesday [18 May] that his reconciliatory move towards the Russian president was not an occasional pronouncement.

"The line which the Russian parliament and Congress of People's Deputies adhered to before the referendum demands serious corrections at present", Ryabov told a press conference on Tuesday.

His first reconciliatory pronouncement was unexpectedly made during the current parliamentary session when Ryabov welcomed the idea of President Boris Yeltsin to hold a constitutional meeting to discuss the draft basic law with Russian republics.

"I believe it inadmissible to continue the line to direct confrontation with the president", Ryabov said today, adding that sober-minded politicians have to consider the situation which had emerged in the country after the referendum which voted confidence to the president.

Ryabov, who signalled a split with Yeltsin's arch rival Ruslan Khasbulatov, said the parliament chairman "was ready to adhere to any constructive idea", but had evidently failed to "understand the balance of political forces in order to definitely support those deputies in parliament who realise the existing realities".

He also added that if all branches of authority and Russian republics agree on common approaches to the new constitution it will be successfully adopted.

If "an effective mechanism of accord is worked out" it will not be difficult to adopt the new constitution by the Congress of People's Deputies, Ryabov added.

'Government Circles' Say Barannikov May Join 'Retirees'

PM1805141393 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 May 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Where Khizha and Skokov Have Been Retired To"]

[Text] At the present time nothing is known about Yu. Skokov's new job. However, rumors are persistently circulating that the former Security Council secretary will be joining V. Chernomyrdin's government as vice premier. These rumors are no less persistently denied by the president's entourage.

It is more likely that G. Khizha, however, will return to St. Petersburg and his former job as general director of the major production association "Svetlana."

We have learned that a third person will be joining the company of "retirees" during the next few days—Security Minister V. Barannikov. This information was obtained from government circles.

Aide Complains of Rutskoy's 'Persecution'

PM1805152193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 May 93 p 3

["Topical Interview" with vice presidential adviser Valentin Perfilyev by Yevgeniy Skukin: "Rutskoy Is Being Persecuted Just as Yeltsin Was Persecuted Under Gorbachev"]

[Text] [Skukin] In an ARGUMENTY I FAKTY interview Boris Nikolayevich said that he regarded the fact that he took Aleksandr Rutskoy on as a partner in the election campaign as one of his greatest mistakes. Allegedly he did not even increase the president's vote...

[Perfilyev] I personally headed Rutskoy's election campaign, and I know how much we did to make sure Boris Nikolayevich won.

[Skukin] Now the vice president's opponents claim that Aleksandr Rutskoy's views have changed with the situation and he has abandoned his president—for which he is likened to Pavlik Morozov. Incidentally, what could you, a lawyer and market economist, trained in Paris, have had in common with the antimarket Rutskoy?

[Perfilyev] Our close relationship actually began following Rutskoy's celebrated March speech on the "Communists for Democracy" platform. I myself was a communist of long standing, but I had never been in the party nomenklatura. People often mix me up with two other Perfilyevs—a Moscow CPSU City Committee secretary, and a KGB staffer. Anyway, Rutskoy's speech made an enormous impression on me at the time. I had already effectively been out of the party for a year—I had stopped paying my dues, and I saw the rebirth of a democratically-oriented communist faction as a real way of combating the all-powerful CPSU. In fact, Rutskoy and I laid the ideological foundation for a new organization, now called the "'Free Russia' People's Party."

It has to be said that Rutskoy's entire activity in the Supreme Soviet was geared to supporting Yeltsin. He did not agree with him 100 percent, but he supported him. Even the creation of our faction furthered this aim, because it caused a split in the communists' ranks. Some of the breakaway communist deputies came over to the democrats' ranks.

[Skukin] What was Rutskoy's idea, then?

[Perfilyev] Communist ideology as it existed at the beginning of the nineties had demonstrated that it had no future. But the party comprised 15 million organized people, and it was not possible to deprive them of that organization overnight, without providing something in exchange.

[Skukin] What remains of the old Communist Party in your party?

[Perfilyev] Nothing. All right, we kept the name "communists," in order to keep the bulk of the people in our ranks. When we started to receive tens of thousands of letters we realized that the communists knew that they could not live like that.

Polozkov was very frightened of us. The reaction to our existence was such that they decided to go for broke. Because they knew they were losing ground. Our plan was to convene a congress in September or October, and the bulk of the communist organizations would come over to us.

[Skukin] What prevented your party from carrying out its plans?

[Perfilyev] The putsch. I think one of the catalysts of the August 1991 events was the fact that Rutskoy's party was growing stronger. Incidentally Yakovlev, with whom I have talked at length, admitted this to me. The CPSU Central Committee felt that there was this powerful force supported by the bulk of the communists and it would sweep them away. It would be a market, reformist party. What happened was that the putsch deprived us of our ideological foundation. We also dropped our communist name and renounced all links with the Communist Party.

[Skukin] But, Valentin Viktorovich, I cannot understand why Aleksandr Rutskoy's criticism of the president's policy has increased of late.

[Perfilyev] I remember one Saturday morning, about 1100 hours, I was sitting working with Aleksandr Vladimirovich when the telephone suddenly rang. He apologized to me, saying that Boris Nikolayevich had summoned him. He left. It was then that I saw him as a major leader.

Eventually Rutskoy returned. Do you know, he said, Boris Nikolayevich has asked me to be his running mate.

I did not believe him. I might have expected Burbulis, or possibly Khasbulatov. I asked him: What did you say? "I told him: Boris Nikolayevich, I do not actually agree with you on everything." "That is exactly what I want," he replied.

It was specified that Rutskoy would not just be a good boy, but would express his own viewpoint, not as a member of a team but as a partner. Yeltsin accepted that, knowing that he was an individual, a personality. He also knew that Rutskoy actually had a very large number of communists behind him. And they could make a very large contribution to an election victory. Rutskoy knew too why he had been asked. And he played his part brilliantly.

He invited me to help him in the election campaign. We planned our itinerary, choosing some very difficult regions: Barnaul, Irkutsk, Novosibirsk, Omsk, Krasnoyarsk, Lipetsk, Kursk, and Krasnodar. Indeed, Rutskoy did not follow a Yeltsin program. No one on his team gave us any instructions. He went to the constituencies with his own program. And when they say that he did nothing for Yeltsin, it is unworthy of the president, let me tell you.

Why should he resign now? He was elected on his own program. He would make five or six speeches a day. On kolkhozes and sovkhozes. He did it to cover the entire population. By evening he was hoarse. But he was back among the people in the morning. We pulled out all the stops to help Yeltsin in the election campaign. But, you know, people would often come up to us and say that they would vote for Rutskoy, but not for Yeltsin. Then we divided into groups and explained to everyone they had to vote for the ticket and they could not cross anyone out. Rutskoy never fought against the president. He was fighting for the president. Fighting to ensure that his policy did not lead the people into poverty and the state into humiliation. He fought against his entourage for that.

The election campaign ended successfully. None of the oblasts we campaigned in voted against Yeltsin. And Rutskoy collected not five, not six, but 15-20 percent of the vote.

[Skukin] But perhaps the political or simply human incompatibility between the two leaders played a part?

[Perfilyev] My view is as follows. You have an experienced politician and you have a young, vigorous, promising politician, who were able to create a splendid tandem. In fact they are very similar in character. Whenever they have met face to face and come to a mutual understanding I have seen Rutskoy exultant: "That is it, we have found a common language!" Then suddenly, a week later, came the blow.

[Skukin] So did Rutskoy step up his criticism of the president because he felt he had the backing of an opposition that was prepared to make him head of state?

[Perfilyev] Rutskoy has always known that he does not yet have the experience to be president. If he had the desire to be president he would have made it apparent before. For instance, at a congress—the fifth or the sixth. He would have had the opposition behind him. With the rating he had last spring he would have been able to do that, but he deliberately did not do so. In fact, he has always treated the president with respect and has intended to see it through with him. The fact that the man had his own program and his own vision is a different matter. That is why he became persona non grata. In the initial days of the presidency the question of the system of state administration, presidential administration, state organization, and state institutions came up. Strange as it may seem, Burbulis and Shakhray handled these questions. But no one asked Rutskoy. It was clear then that he had done his job. He must either become a full member of the team, or... It was even suggested that the president issue an edict on the appointment of a vice president.

[Skukin] So whose version of a system of state administration was adopted?

[Perfilyev] Burbulis'. When we saw it we realized that, in the first place, it was unworkable and, in the second place, it was the entire union state structure all over again. It completely enveloped the president, preventing him from freely making decisions. It did not conform to the demands of the transition to market relations. Whereas ours, which was then supported by Silayev, provided for presidential and federal councils, that is, what we are aiming for now. But that was June-July 1991. Even then we were saying that the federation and federal structures must participate in the elaboration of the president's decisions.

The president is talking now about a Federation Council, yet it was proposed then. As was the idea of a Presidential Council—an independent institution of advisers. What we had in mind was the minimum. The personnel must be highly skilled, properly equipped, and highly paid. So there would be no desire to make a pile. According to our estimates, the total number would have been no more than 500 people. Burbulis' structure, however, was to have 2,000-3,000.

[Skukin] So, Valentin Viktorovich, we are talking about artificially created "Chinese whispers," are we?

[Perfilyev] I know there was a secret telephone command from the Council of Ministers to block everything coming from Rutskoy. I do not want to and I cannot accuse the president of this. He has no inkling of much that is happening concerning Rutskoy and he would not go along with much of it even now.

The presidential entourage's inherent desire to control him is having a pernicious effect not only on him, but on the situation in the country as well. The important thing that the president's team lacks is a clear idea, a vision of a political system for society; it lacks a well-though-out state ideology around which society could take shape. Hence the failures in the social sphere and in the spheres of education and culture, leading to the deterioration of social awareness and of the individual. I honestly regret the fact that the president did not see what Aleksandr Rutskoy was offering him; in fact the mistakes in the implementation of the reform were noticeable back in mid-1991.

Furthermore, I believe that more than anyone else the president's wife will understand and sympathize with the vice president's wife today. She knows what political persecution of a politician who is making a nuisance of himself is like, and not just from the newspapers.

Adamishin on Problems in Pursuit of Foreign Policy

LD1805184193 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1710 GMT 18 May 93

[Text] The stand off between the legislative and executive branches of power in Russia not only hinders progress in the economic reforms in the country but also hampers pursuit of the foreign policy.

This point has been made to our reporter by the First Deputy Foreign Minister of Russia Anatoliy Adamishin:

Adamishin said: It is ideal to pursue foreign policy in conditions of national consensus. Take America. Two parties fiercely struggle for power, one criticizing the other on issues of domestic policy, taxation, budget expenditures and so on. But there is common understanding on key issues of foreign policy. Unfortunately in Russia political sentiments have been running so high there seems to be no consensus on any issue.

I think, says the senior diplomat, this state of affairs should be overcome by patient daily work. Take the Charter of the Commonwealth of Independent States. I take this as an example because I made the report on the charter in the day to day Parliament of Russia for the

purpose of its ratification. It was a pleasant event for me that there were only two MPs [members of parliament] who voted against. This shows there are things that meet the general national interest. Not party interests or the interests of some single faction or even the government interest.

It is on the basis of the common national interest that we should follow our foreign policy. But that is only a rather distant prospect.

What in the opinion of the senior diplomat are the ways of conducting foreign policy on such a basis?

Adamishin said: There are many ways out, I mean ways within our reach, the reach of government officials. This is to try to explain in the best possible manner the national interests, first as they are realized at state level, and secondly in what way to achieve common understanding in this respect. This is the social pigeonhole, so to say, that is now available to us [sentence as heard]. Naturally politicians should try to find some minimal common ground, at least on the key issues of foreign policy of Russia.

Does Anatoliy Adamishin believe there have been any miscalculations lately in the Russian foreign policy?

Adamishin said: In my opinion there have been no big errors in foreign policy in conditions when there are debates still on the ultimate statehood of Russia and when there are big differences between the branches of power in the country.

The first deputy foreign minister says: Diplomats may be criticized though. There are a whole number of things that could have been done better. Here's a recent example:

In the UN Security Council Russia voted against transfer of payments for the UN peacekeepers in Cyprus from voluntary to mandatory. For the past 30 years the payments have been voluntary and a decision was to have been taken to make it mandatory. That would have put extra financial commitments on us. But Russia is short of means, so we voted down this resolution. The other countries have viewed that as a departure from our line of principles, as our opposition to the Western countries. But the whole point is our veto was dictated by our national interest. I think that the world should gradually realize this: Russia is entering the civilized democratic world with a voice of its own, with its own national interests, and this should be taken into account, said First Deputy Foreign Minister of Russia Anatoliy Adamishin.

Plans for Tightening Border Protection Aired

PM1905103193 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 May 93 p 1

[Aleksandr Korchagin report: "Last Border Marker Will Be Installed in Year 2000"]

[Text] As is known, the color green is considered the color of hope. No, I am not talking of dollars. When meeting with Russian border guards in Tajikistan and the Baltic region I have not found it reflected in the eyes of those who wear green shoulder boards.

With the breakup of the Union people began saying increasingly frequently of the Russian borders that they were transparent. It is no secret that valuable raw materials and weapons "flow" across them out of the fatherland, while drugs "flow" in. The military said: A law on the state border is a vital necessity. The Russian Supreme Soviet has examined just such a law. At a news conference Colonel General Vladimir Shlyakhtin, commander of Russia's Border Guard Troops, told journalists about its most important facets.

"In the very near future there will not be a single meter of administrative border in 60,000 km," he said. "Russia will be surrounded by a state border. It is planned to put the last marker in place in the year 2000."

"The law juridically obligates a number of ministries to help to resolve the border problem," Major Gen. Aleksandr Tymko, chief of staff, continued the discussion.

"Do not you think the law is a little late?" I asked him.

"It is not our fault, it was ready a year ago," Aleksandr Ivanovich replied.

Concerns for the state border are associated with considerable expenditure. Some 24.6 billion rubles will be spent just at the initial stage to "plow up" the monitoring and surveillance strip. The cost of installing even a single border post will have to be addressed separately—it all depends on the terrain.

It is planned in the very near future to conclude bilateral treaties with almost all the CIS countries on the protection of their borders. Ukraine is first on the list. Whereas border troops used to be involved in guarding them, now, as Point 3 of the law points out, protection will be comprehensive, even including ecological services. But this is all in the future. The Russian border is presently lacking 30,000 men. Great hopes are pinned on the spring draft. As is known, it is taking place on a voluntary basis, with parental consent.

Quite honestly, it is hard to believe that thousands of young men will want to call Border Guard's Day, which is celebrated 28 May, their festival. It used to be considered a prestigious thing to defend the motherland. Now many concepts have faded. I would like to be mistaken.

The Law on the State Border of Russia will be published in full in the press in the very near future.

'Renewal' Faction Warns Against Radicalism

PM1705161993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 13 May 93 First Edition p 2

[Unattributed report under "Appeal" rubric: "People Who Do Not Know How To Govern Learn How To Oppress"]

[Text] The All-Russian "Renewal" Union Executive Committee has adopted an appeal in connection with the events of 1 May in Moscow.

The "Renewal" Union, it states, is calling for an objective, full, and public investigation into all the circumstances surrounding the Moscow battle. Russia's citizens should know the names of those who hid behind the backs of demonstrators and law-enforcement organ staffers.

Leaders of the "implacable" opposition are trying to cast themselves as martyrs by sacrificing their own supporters. And the government is to all intents and purposes playing up to them in an attempt to depict itself as the only force defending the country from the "communist monster."

As a result, both sides are nudging society toward a civil confrontation whose baneful consequences have already been experienced by Georgia, Tajikistan, and certain other republics of the former USSR.

The fact that Russia's citizens voted in the referendum for political stability and common sense in no way suits those who were counting on exploiting its results to suppress their political opponents.

The ambitious style of political thinking that has been asserted in the "party of power" on the one hand and in the "implacable" opposition on the other is the real cause of the clash. People who do not know how to govern learn how to oppress.

Fellow countrymen! Russia has no option but to legally adopt a democratic constitution and to win the consent of all, including the president, the people's deputies, the authorities, and the opposition, to respect the law.

The "Renewal" Union warns that those who are trying to persuade us that there are any quick shortcuts to prosperity and freedom through revolutionary violence are lying shamelessly.

You took Russia in your hands at the referendum. Now it depends on you alone, and on your ability not to be deceived yet again.

Only together can we avert disaster. That is why we are appealing to all the citizens of Russia. Let us be patient. Any ill-considered actions could play into the hands of forces which by no means have your personal interests at heart. We call on you to be guided by good sense so as to avoid the extremes of right-wing and left-wing radicalism alike.

Zhirinovskiy To Run for President; Cited on Constitution

LD1805153093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1350 GMT 18 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Alexandrova]

[Text] Moscow May 18 TASS—Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, the leader of the Liberal Democratic Party, who lost the Russian presidential elections in 1991 makes no secret of his intention to run for presidency in the next elections and, what is more, hopes to win them.

Zhirinovskiy on Tuesday [18 May] invited reportes for a luncheon in one of the halls of Moscow's prestigious Restaurant Prague. He assured them that this is not an attempt to bribe the media, but a demonstration of the "party's style". "We want everyone to see how our party operates even before we came to power," Zhirinovskiy said. The organisers of the function said that in April Vladimir Zhirinovskiy celebrated his birthday in the Hall of Mirrors in the Restaurant Prague and that from now on he is going to meet the press there every month.

Answering a question from ITAR-TASS, Zhirinovskiy said that there will be only three real candidates in the next presidential elections which he believes to take place not later than next spring—Boris Yeltsin, Aleksandr Rutskoy and Vladimir Zhirinovskiy himself. "We stand real chances to win as the third force. We shall capitalise on the fact that the Yeltsin team and Rutskoy team will be trying to smear each other. People who got sick and tired with the president and the vice president will look at that and will elect us," Zhirinovskiy said. He said the Liberal Democratic Party is not going to team up with any party or any movement during the presidential elections. "All the blocs are artificial," he said.

Regarding the draft new constitution, Zhirinovskiy said that not one on the drafts suits the Liberal Democratic Party. Both ensure the national-territorial structure of Russia, while the party believes that the subdivision of Russia into governorships, provinces and so on is the optimum way. Otherwise, Zhirinovskiy and his party support the presidential draft. "We declared for a presidential republic five years back, and we favour it for at least ten years. Russia will be ready for a parliamentary republic, a more progressive form, not earlier than by the 21st century," he said.

Zhirinovskiy believes the constitution should be endorsed by a Congress of People's Deputies. He believes the present constitutional crisis results from the fact that both powers hold on to their positions and wish to keep them to the end.

Zhirinovskiy said that a number of Russian industrialists are going to donate no less than 500 million rubles to finance the election compaign of the Liberal Democratic Party. This was confirmed by business people present at the luncheon.

Liberal Democratic Party Chairman Views Developments

AU1805162093 Budapest PESTI HIRLAP in Hungarian 15 May 93 p 12

[Interview with Vladimir Volfovich Zhirinovskiy, chairman of the Russian Liberal Democratic Party, by unidentified correspondent, in Moscow; date not given: "Will the Russian Empire Reemerge?"]

[Text] Vladimir Volfovich Zhirinovskiy is a special figure in Russian political life. When Boris Yeltsin was elected president of Russia in May 1991, Zhirinovskiy was third in the number of votes he received. His waxwork figure can be found in the Moscow Panopticum near that of Stalin and Hitler. Vladimir Zhirinovskiy received our correspondent in the Headquarters of the Russian Liberal Democratic Party.

[PESTI HIRLAP] How do you evaluate the situation after the referendum and, in your opinion, to what extent has the balance of forces changed in the struggle for power?

[Zhirinovskiy] The balance of political forces has shifted toward the leftist and communist forces: Currently, some 80 percent of the people's deputies are under the influence of communists. However, this is an advantage for our party, because the current leadership is a follower of the American regime. Boris Yeltsin is incapable of introducing a presidential leadership, and the congress is unable to remove him from office; therefore, elections are needed, because the economic situation is constantly deteriorating with the passing of time. Besides, the communists are not united either; they formed five separate parties that strongly criticize each other; therefore, one should not be afraid of a possible revival of the old communist party.

[PESTI HIRLAP] What social strata are particularly supporting your party?

[Zhirinovskiy] We can find sympathizers practically in every stratum, mostly among the poor people, naturally. The Armed Forces, the Army organizations, the police, and the members of the security services in Russia also support us. Leaders of small and medium-size enterprises and the entrepreneurs also sympathize with us, because they have got used to freedom and more money, and they do not want the return of communism. They have quite a big influence on the workers.

[PESTI HIRLAP] Every opposition party is accused of only criticizing the activity of the government and of not having any adequate alternative program. Do you have any concrete economic program?

[Zhirinovskiy] Of course we have one. We regard the dismantling of the state sector as a mistake. Huge state enterprises have always been more successful in Russia, both under the tsars and under the communists. We do not oppose the other forms of property and we recognize the legitimacy of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and even of private farmers, and we let the villages decide on this issue themselves. However, we will decide in industry, primarily by determining the priorities. Military industry must definitely have priority. We will eliminate the inefficient sectors and, instead, we will support those that have been profitable so far. We could supply electric power to all the world.

[PESTI HIRLAP] Do you have any plans to convert the military industry?

[Zhirinovskiy] No such conversion whatsoever is on the agenda. The military industry should produce with full capacity, and we will market the weapons in the southern regions. Of course, we would only sell defensive weapons to China and India, because this is one of the largest markets where we can exchange our weapons for cotton and cattle. Turkey, Iran, and Afghanistan also need our weapons; however, first order must be made in the current chaos, where the scientists have been dispersed and whole sectors of the economy have been destroyed.

[PESTI HIRLAP] What is your opinion about Foreign Minister Kozyrev's role?

[Zhirinovskiy] Every patriotic force thinks negatively about Kozyrev's activity; I, myself, think in the same terms. We have concrete ideas on a totally different foreign policy.... Kozyrev and Defense Minister Grachev should be removed from their positions immediately.

[PESTI HIRLAP] In your opinion, who could replace Yeltsin at a possible presidential election?

[Zhirinovskiy] Rutskoy, Styerligov, Mikhail Bacherov, and Nakasov will surely run for presidency; it is also possible that Astafiyev and Aksyuchits will also run; many people mention Baburin too. Together with me, there are almost ten contenders. However, in my opinion, the real struggle will be between Rutskoy, Bacherov, and myself. We agreed with Bacherov to help each other against Rutskoy. If I get more votes, Bacherov will hand his votes over to me; if he gets more votes, I will hand my votes over to him. If I am elected president, I will appoint Bacherov as prime minister; if he is elected president, he will appoint me as prime minister. Rutskoy got in the position of vice president not because of his knowledge but because he also enjoys the support of the West. As for the others, it is difficult to give an opinion; most of them are former communists. The Movement for a Democratic Russia is unable to come up with a real leader and, so far, they have been fully supporting Yeltsin.

[PESTI HIRLAP] When the conflict between Yeltsin and the congress increased, the Western powers immediately committed themselves to support Yeltsin. In your opinion, was this support meant for Yeltsin as a person or for the political trend he represents? Was it perhaps a simple diplomatic gesture?

[Zhirinovskiy] Of course, this support was aimed at Yeltsin's policy, namely to enable him to maintain this

political line in the wake of which Russia is now economically totally subordinated to the Western countries, and this will subsequently lead to a total collapse of the Russian state. Naturally, this is their aim, because it is good to control such a huge semi-colony like Russia, with its huge deposits of raw material. A narrow elite will probably live well but, due to a massive migration, the Russian national awareness will cease to exist. Then weapons can be put in their hands to continue to kill and weaken each other, and the Muslims can be incited from the South; this is why the West supports Yeltsin. Russia succeeded in halting Napoleon and Hitler, and it will also be able to stop the United States.

[PESTI HIRLAP] What program do you have for the defense of Russians living beyond your borders?

[Zhirinovskiy] There are chances for the emergence of many small states in the South, in Central Asia, and in the Caucasus, states that are fighting each other. We can find Turkey, Iran, and Afghanistan neighboring those regions, and they will also interfere in these conflicts. The same is taking place in Yugoslavia, only on a larger scale. This armed conflict in that region will last for about three to five years; the Russian state will become stronger during this time, and the European territories, namely Ukraine, Moldova, and the Baltics can be regained by economic means; finally, a total economic collapse will take place in the Caucasus and the Asian territories, and they will return by themselves. Thus, we will be able to exercise pressure on Turkey, Iran, and Afghanistan. This is the same method used by the United States to defend itself, only that now Russia will make use of this method. The existing confrontations are suitable for making the entire region dependent on Russia, and this will provide Russia free access to the Southern Seas. Iraq, toward whom we will have a friendly policy, could help us in this endeavor.

[PESTI HIRLAP] Do you think that this policy is also expedient toward the European republics?

[Zhirinovskiy] They will return voluntarily: We will stop the supply of fuel, wood, metals, machines, and cars. We will stop the supply of car fuel and coal, and then everything will stop in these republics. We can do this, and we can sell these goods to Finland and Turkey for hard currency, and we can get from Finland everything that we could get from the Baltics. Who else can give them energy? No one. As a whole, this is how I envisage the rebirth of the Russian Empire. However, this is not identical with the Tsarist Empire or with the communist Soviet Union. This would be a civilized and democratic European state, the dream of every Russian. Russia can only exist as a centralized power; a federation or confederation would destroy the country and, together with this, smaller ethnic groups would also disappear, and this could be dangerous for Europe. Eastern Europe has economic interests toward Russia. The West supports these countries as new democracies, but it will never support them economically and will never purchase their goods, because the Western markets are overstocked. As for the issue of the Western border, we support Hungary in its debate with Romania over Transylvania. The same applies to the Transcarpathian regions. If the issue of Romanian-Moldovan reunification emerged, one can also think about the problem of Hungarians in Transylvania.

Coup Leaders' Trial Resumes, Adjourns 18 May

LD1805083693

[Editorial Report] Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian at 0630 GMT on 18 May reports that the trial of the State Committee for the State of Emergency resumed at 1000 Moscow time. The presiding judge said that the court would consider requests lodged during the recess for the return of the defendants' awards and medals, changes to their custody conditions, and admission to hearings of more members of the media.

The defense then asked for the lawyers for the prosecution to be discharged from their duties, on the grounds "that there have been gross violations of criminal and procedural law, and that all Russian procurators are subordinate in their posts to the Procurator General who, according to the defense and the accused, has published a book called 'The Kremlin Conspiracy, Versions and Investigations' and, thus, has a personal interest in the outcome of the case."

After 24 minutes of legal argument "the presiding judge, (Anatoliy Ukolov), announced an adjournment until 1400, when the court will rule on the discharge or otherwise of the prosecution team."

Prosecution Team Reportedly Dismissed

LD1805105393 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 18 May 93

[Text] We have just heard that at the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency] trial, the court has granted the application of the defense and dismissed the group of state prosecutors. The Supreme Court has appealed to the Supreme Soviet to set up a procuracy body outside the present system of procuracy supervision. The trial has been adjourned until the issue is examined.

Adjournment Viewed

LD1805123693 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 18 May 93

[Text] The trial in the case of SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency] was today adjourned indefinitely. Here with the details is our commentator Andrey Krasnov.

[Krasnov] Today, Russia's Supreme Court, chaired by Anatoliy Ukolov, granted the defense lawyers' application to dismiss the state prosecutors. In the court's opinion, Russia's Procurator General Valentin Stepankov and investigator Yevgeniy Lisov breached the law by publishing their book "The Kremlin Plot: Investigators' Version" before the court hearings. The

Supreme Court believes that under these circumstances, state prosecutors cannot be independent, since the procuracy leadership has a vested interest in the outcome of the SCSE trial. Russia's Supreme Court proposed that parliament should set up a special procuracy body that would not be subordinate to the existing Procurator General's office. Until all these issues are examined, the SCSE trial is suspended, and it looks as if it is not going to resume soon.

The court's verdict certainly exploded a political bomb. In effect it means that Valentin Stepankov has to resign. Either he makes the decision himself, or it will be made for him by the Supreme Soviet. May I remind you that appointments to the post of Procurator General are made by the Russian parliament. The Supreme Court ruling has also placed the present Russian authorities in a very awkward position. They are facing a political impasse and are unlikely to scramble out of it in the near future.

The only people who can consider themselves winners are the SCSE members. Their tactics of delaying the trial as much as possible have evidently borne fruit.

Constitution Issues

Yeltsin Condemns Parliament's Confrontational Tactics

LD1805170693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1555 GMT 18 May 93

[By unidentified ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 18 May—The Russian president condemns the tactics of aggressive confrontation that are being used by a section of the leadership of the Supreme Soviet. He has respect for those forces in the Corps of Deputies and those politicians who, after realistically assessing the results of the referendum, summon up the political courage and farsightedness to switch from confrontation with the president to dialogue, a statement issued today by Vyacheslav Kostikov, the Russian president's press secretary, declares.

The anti-reformist forces are trying to unleash a fresh bout of tension, the statement says. After their defeat in attempts to ruin the president's economic strategy they are transferring their actions into an even more dangerous sphere—the sphere of constitutional confrontation.

The opposition's actions that are being encouraged by the speaker of the Supreme Soviet are taking on an openly destructive character, the statement says. The Supreme Soviet recently rejected amendments made by the president to the Law on the Budget. Committees of the Supreme Soviet have started an intensive purge of democratic deputies. Deputies who are known to be the most furious opponents of the renewal of Russia are being actively brought into the reshuffled committees of the Supreme Soviet.

Anxious about preserving civil peace, the president states his openness toward a political dialogue, and welcomes constructive initiatives with the object of forming a representative constitutional conference and elaborating such a formula for adopting a constitution that would to a greater degree help to maintain stability in the country while preserving the dynamics of the reforms, the statement says in conclusion.

Filatov Briefs Newsmen on Drafting of Constitution

LD1805123293 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 18 May 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Sergey Filatov, head of the president's staff, today devoted his regular briefing to the work on drafting a new Russian constitution. Borrowing a phrase from the former Soviet president, he told journalists that the constitutional process is already under way and is now unstoppable, because the need for a new constitution has the public's full understanding. The president himself is determined to see the process through to the end.

On May 20 the state legal department will start sifting through and analyzing comments and amendments to the presidential draft. On 5 June the constitutional assembly will convene; it is expected to consist of four chambers. The first, with 176 persons, two for each member of the federation, will represent the regions. The second, the federal chamber, will have representatives of the president, government and constitutional commission. The third will represent political parties, and the fourth local authorities.

Details on the structure of the constitutional assembly will be published soon in a presidential decree.

Sergey Filatov confirmed that the aggression shown by opponents to the presidential draft is self-serving, but that agreement can be reached with them given two conditions: if the presidential draft is accepted as a basis for further work, and if deputies do not filibuster the adoption of a new constitution.

Drafts May Be Merged

LD1805201293 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 18 May 93

[By correspondent German Solomatin; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Sergey Filatov, head of the Russian president's administration, at a meeting with journalists today stated that the presidential side might agree to merging the two draft constitutions proposed by Boris Yeltsin and the Constitutional Commission but only on the condition that the president's draft is accepted as the basic one.

[Correspondent German Solomatin] In all structures of power one can see a desire to bring the work on the

constitution to completion. Too much effort has been spent on political struggle and it should be ended. Filatov said that a presidential decree was being prepared on holding a constitutional conference on 5 June at which all points of the new constitution would be finalized. Amendments and objections to the texts of the draft law would be discussed and finalized prior to this.

As for the constitutional conference, it will consist of four levels—the subjects of the federation, the federal level, sections of public associations, and local self-government. It was revealed today that it was not yet clear what the mechanism would be for adopting the future constitution—the Congress of People's Deputies or a referendum. Filatov considers that trusting the congress with adopting the constitution would mean showing disrespect to the people. However, in his opinion, cooperation was possible.

The president's service is worried by the fact that even after the recent referendum there was no constructive cooperation. Khasbulatov's recent statements and the dissolution of a number of Supreme Soviet committees gives rise to a certain degree of caution. If there is no progress, the political temperature will rise again. So, the start of summer promises to be just as hot as the spring in the political sense.

'Lies' of Yeltsin Draft's Critics Assailed

PM1905091393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 May 93 First Edition p 5

[Article by Sergey Alekseyev, corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Sciences: "Lies: A Reply to Critics of the President's Draft Constitution"]

[Text] You would think that the time had gone when people disregarded the facts and told blatant lies from lofty rostrums and in the press.

But, unfortunately, lies are precisely what we are now getting from some people about the draft Russian Constitution submitted by the Russian president. It is even being claimed that the draft is aimed at establishing a "superpresidential power," "authoritarianism," "dictatorial-colonial ways," and "monarchy" in the country...

Fabrication and Facts

There have been a number of speeches and newspaper publications citing certain provisions of the text of the draft Constitution where the president is granted the right to "call" elections to the Federal Assembly, to "appoint" top officials and ministers, to "dissolve" parliament, and to "declare a state of emergency." This is indeed something close to state willfulness.

However, such allegations about the president's draft constitution are LIES.

The reason for these opinions is clear. How else can people denigrate a draft Constitution which is designed to put an end to the false, antidemocratic state system which covers up a multiplicity of powers and a totalitarian regime?

The president's draft enshrines the desire to realize "to the maximum" the principles of real people's power and a firm, stable, and at the same time moderate state power. Hence the emphasis on the inalienable rights of man, on the elevation of justice, and on the consistent implementation of federalism and the autonomy of local self-government—municipal organs far removed from state organs. Hence, too, the desire for the scrupulous implementation of the idea not just of the separation but also of the equilibrium of the three branches of power—the legislature, the executive, and the judiciary—while ensuring their balance and the unity of the state. That is why the draft is aimed at preventing situations where a subdivision of a state system such as the system of soviets becomes "all-powerful."

Now for the functions of the president. Do these functions envisaged by the draft infringe or diminish the powers of the legislative and the judicial organs? Not in the slightest. Essentially, according to the draft the Russian Federation operates not as a presidential but as a presidential-parliamentary republic embodying the values of the parliamentary system. Under the draft legislative activity is conducted wholly and without exception by parliament—the Federal Assembly—and it is parliament which, on the president's submission, makes appointments to the top state posts and exercises supreme parliamentary oversight. It is remarkable that under the president's draft, which envisages the president's overall accountability for the activity of the executive, the latter is headed by an independent government formed by the chairman of the government according to the principles of a "single team." Thus there is nothing here even redolent of the authoritarianism characteristic of the present soviets or even remotely close to "all-powerfulness."

The President in a Democratic State

What, then, are the functions of the president in the state system? Article 70 of the Constitution makes mention of that. First, the president as head of state and guarantor of the Constitution and citizens' rights and freedoms adopts measures to protect the sovereignty of the Russian Federation and its independence and state integrity. Second, he ensures the coordinated functioning and interaction of all state organs and the effectiveness of the executive. Furthermore, the president exercises both the former and the latter function, as the draft directly states, "in the procedure established by the present Constitution," that is, mainly through the parliament—the Federal Assembly—or the judicial organs, primarily the Constitutional Court. For example, according to Article 80 of the draft Constitution, the president acts as arbiter in disputes within the Federation and when agreement is not reached "refers the dispute to the Federation Constitutional Court for examination." Or, under the same article, when an act contradicting the

Constitution or the Federation Treaty or violating the rights and freedoms of the individual is adopted by any organ, the president of the Russian Federation suspends the operation of that act and submits to the appropriate court—the Constitutional Court, the Supreme Court, or the Court of Arbitration—a demand that the violation be eliminated.

According to the draft the purpose of the institution of the presidency is not to "rule" but to be a guarantor of the effectiveness of state power, not to hold sway, taking decisions on everything, but to prevent the most terrible disaster of all for society—a state of anarchy, a multiplicity of powers, and legal chaos—and to ensure the optimum functioning and interaction of all state organs.

After all, in itself the separation of powers is not just a barrier to the concentration of power in one subsection of the state system and not just a system of "checks" and "balances" among the various powers. In the present situation this is, unfortunately, another opportunity for one power to block another, with the result being inevitable paralysis of power and the destruction of the state system, such as is happening at an ever-increasing rate in Russia right now. That is why world constitutional practice, which proclaims the principles of the sovereignty of the people and the separation of powers, has developed the institution of the head of state (presidency), which is designed in a democratic regime to ensure the unity of state power and its optimum functioning in all its "separate" branches—the legislature, the executive, and the judiciary.

Under the draft the Russian president is provided with sufficient powers to make Russian state power strong and stable but there is nothing in it which makes him an "all-powerful" figure.

Who Does Not Stand To Gain From Accurate Quotations and Why?

What about the harsh denunciatory assessments of the president's draft constitution which cite provisions from its text?

Well, had those quotations been accurate they would not have been cited as mere snatches of quotations and, more often than not, in a completely free form with a deliberate emphasis. For some reason a number of critics have been moved to protest at the provision in the draft that the president "calls Federal Assembly elections." But the calling of elections, as is generally accepted in world constitutional practice, can only happen in accordance with the Constitution and the law in circumstances when elections are due. And this organizational-judicial power of the head of state, one which is also generally accepted in the world, like his right to sign and promulgate laws after their adoption, does not provide evidence of nay special rights to power on the part of the head of state.

Now for a more important question. Is it true that under the draft the president "appoints" top officials? Precise quotations are needed here too. The president "himself" directly appoints and dismisses—this cannot be any other way in principle—his own administration and his representatives in the regions as well as the supreme commander in chief and the supreme command of the Armed Forces.

But in the other cases the president in the main only submits candidates for appointment to the Federal Assembly (including candidates for the post of chairman of the government, chairman of the Central Bank, the general prosecutor, and federal judges of all the top courts—the Constitutional Court, the Supreme Court, the Court of Arbitration, and federal justices for appointment to the Superior Judicial Office). He submits candidacies but does not make the appointments himself!

The president's functions are more significant when it comes to appointing federal ministers and the leaders of federal departments. Here we see his responsibility for the effectiveness of the executive and for its functioning as a "single team." But even in this instance federal ministers can only be appointed after the Federal Assembly's appointment of the chairman of the government and—most important of all—only on the submission of the head of the government, and also after consultation with the Federal Assembly.

But what about the president's right to dissolve parliament—a prerogative which is cited most often to prove that the head of state possesses certain dictatorial rights. Let me say straightaway: According to the draft the president simply has no such general "right of dissolution" (even though such a power does exist in a number of democratic states, such as Spain, where the prime minister has this right). The president has the "right of dissolution" only in an exceptional, extraordinary situation of deadlock, although it is counterbalanced by the right of the parliament to dismiss the president on constitutional grounds. Incidentally, such a situation arises precisely in connection with the fact that the appointment to a top government office—the chairman of the government—is made by by parliament and hence a constitutional deadlock, a state of insoluble government crisis, may arise. The president nominates a candidate for the chairman of the government three times and, if all attempts to achieve consensus fail, then, as in other instances when the crisis of state power cannot be resolved on the basis of constitutional procedures, the president (even then after consultations with the chairmen of the Federation Council and the State Duma) dissolves the parliament ahead of schedule. He does this in order to avert the most disastrous calamity for society—a state of anarchy, the disintegration of the state system, and state-legal chaos—and immediately calls fresh elections to the Federal Assembly.

Similar clarifications are needed when evaluating the president's right to impose a state of emergency. How can this be anything other than a dictatorial power, you might think! But if you look at the text of the draft, that

impression is drastically altered. The president can exercise this right only in accordance with the Constitution, federal constitutional law, and the Federation Treaty (which places an enormous set of restrictions on this right). Here the president must immediately announce the imposition of a state of emergency to the Federal Assembly which—note well!—has the "final say": In accordance with Article 96 of the draft it confirms (or does not confirm and consequently revokes) the state of emergency that has been imposed.

The reader himself could compare other peremptory assertions about the president's draft with the actual text of it and could see for himself quite easily that not one of the president's rights exceeds the bounds of the functions of the head of a democratic state and in no way gives him authoritarian or dictatorial powers.

What This Fuss Is Really About

There is one significant factor which cannot be ignored. To some extent it explains the tough and intransigent assessments of the president's draft constitution which do not tally with the text of it at all. Indeed, what is the reason for the toughness of these assessments, which sometimes spills over into fury?

In our Russian conditions, still fueled by the ineradicable impulses of pro-Soviet, totalitarian ideology, the very act of highlighting the institution of the presidency as the head of state has a decisive influence on the status and purpose of the soviets: While assigning to them the age-old parliamentary functions of representative organs the draft Constitution deprives the soviets of something that they possessed in conditions of totalitarianism—the functions of the head of state and pretensions to "all-powerfulness."

But whereas in the system of the soviets the pretensions to be head of state (expressed in the official and unofficial functions of the Presidium and the Soviet chairman) were and remain the precondition for the excessive "all-powerfulness" of the really powerful forces of dictatorship standing behind the soviets—the partyocracy, the corrupt apparatus not subject to the law—then the functions and activity of the president as head of state are placed in strict legal restraints and are implemented in a regime of democracy and the consistent separation of powers.

Khasbulatov on Constitutional Crisis

PM1805131693 Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 16 May 93 p 18

[Disa Hastad report: "Yeltsin Is in Opposition, Not Me"]

[Text] Moscow—He is the guarantee that the constitution will be respected. This is the view Russian parliamentary speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov takes of himself. He cannot envisage any compromise involving any procedural changes. But he has not dared summon the People's Congress yet and at a press lunch with foreign correspondents in Moscow on Saturday [15 May] he refused to answer questions about when the congress would meet.

An opening in Russia's conflict about how a new constitution should be adopted had seemed possible on Friday when parliamentary deputy speaker Nikolay Ryabov declared his willingness to go some way toward meeting the president's proposal of a special constituent assembly.

In doing so Nikolay Ryabov, who is not known as a liberal, went against his speaker and superior, Khasbulatov. But it remains to be seen whether speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov intends to give way—unless of course he is voted down in parliament. He is still asserting that it would be "criminal" and dangerous to act in any way other than that laid down in the law.

"Perhaps it would be easier if things were different," he said with feigned lightness. "But we do have this law. We have to live with it. And it is President Boris Yeltsin and no one else who is driving the country toward autocracy and dictatorship," Khasbulatov said.

"Anything else is a lie. A large number of lies are being spread by Russian television. You foreign correspondents should urge your fellow journalists not to lie so much, but I cannot see you doing that," Khasbulatov said.

When we foreign correspondents asked him whether he has not gone almost as far as he can, for he did after all suffer a defeat in the referendum, he refused to accept this view:

"Thirty-six million voted for President Yeltsin, but there are 105 million who are entitled to vote. What kind of victory was that for the president?"

No, by definition the parliament cannot suffer a defeat, Khasbulatov said. If the parliament does suffer a defeat, the country has slipped into dictatorship. And in response to the question about whether he is in opposition to the president Khasbulatov exploded:

"I in opposition? I am not in opposition; I represent the law and the constitution. According to the law, the government is subordinate to parliament, so how can I be in opposition? It is the president who is in opposition to the constitution."

The only time that Ruslan Khasbulatov considers that he was in opposition was during the Soviet era, when he wrote liberal articles on economics. To begin with they were published in PRAVDA while Yegor Gaydar (who later became Yeltsin's prime minister) was editor. Later they were rejected. He also had difficulty in getting his books published. And in fact he comes from a persecuted nation, the Chechens.

But when HUFVUDSTADSBLADET asked him whether he can envisage a future as the president of an

independent Chechenia (for Khasbulatov has condemned the regime of the current president, Dudayev, as illegal) his negative response was long and contained many explanations.

"I am no Shevardnadze who can go back to his homeland. Shevardnadze was a member both of the KGB and the party and was also foreign minister, while I was none of these things—and for that matter my homeland is probably really Kazakhstan...."

He refused to say how he sees his political future or whether he will run in elections for a new parliamentary system. He was never a Communist Party functionary, he pointed out ("unlike certain others" hangs in the air) and now he is without party since he thinks that he should stand above parties (and in his view, Yeltsin should too.) But he would describe himself as a centrist with social democratic sympathies.

Does Khasbulatov think that two constitutions for Russia, both legal in their own way, could be adopted—one by parliament and the other by the president and his constituent assembly composed of leaders from the federation and other representative figures?

"No, that is not how things will be," Khasbulatov said.

"And how can one talk about the parliament's proposed constitution and the president's proposal. They are both Yeltsin's proposals—after all, he is chairman of the parliament's Constitutional Commission. If you want to know my own personal view about these proposals, they are bad proposals, both of them. The first is weak and the other one is even worse. A disposable constitution."

Republicans Think Both Constitution Drafts Flawed

MK1805082493 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 May 93 p 2

[Indira Dunayeva report under the rubric "Party": "Russian Federation Republican Party Comes Out for the Adoption of Constitutional Law. Will the People Decide Which Synchrophasotron Is Better?"]

[Text] The Political Council of the Russian Federation Republican Party yesterday set forth its view of the current political situation and the constitutional process in Russia.

According to the Republicans, both the parliament's and president's draft constitutions are flawed so much that neither can be adopted as the basis for further elaboration. "Attempts to cobble together one draft out of the two would hardly produce anything viable. The Constitutional Commission's draft carries the birthmarks of socialist ideology. Among the serious flaws of the president's draft are the derogation of the rights of Federation components, and the unlimited powers of the president," declared Igor Yakovenko, cochairman of the Russian Federation Republican Party.

The Russian Federation Republican Party Political Council believes that there is no legitimate legal and political mechanism for the adoption of either draft, and it would be best if a new constitution were adopted by a new parliament to be elected on a multiparty basis not later than spring 1994. Until then a transition period to constitutional law should be adopted.

Asked if the president's draft could be accepted at least for the duration of the transition period, Yakovenko replied in the negative. "First, if one speaks about a transition period constitution, it should be named accordingly. Second, no time frame has been specified. Third, the draft in question is flawed so much that it is not suited even for a transition period."

The Republicans think that both drafts will be subjected to serious revision. Indeed, if Yeltsin has to gamble on the Federation components, then he will grant them broader rights. The Russian Federation Republican Party Political Council thinks it extremely undesirable to put the two drafts to a referendum. Igor Yakovenko expressed doubt that a majority of the population would read them; thus, putting the drafts to a referendum is "tantamount to deciding by a nationwide vote on the best design for a synchrophasotron."

PRAVDA Scorns Yeltsin Move To Complete Constitution

PM1705115793 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 May 93 p 2

[Viktor Trushkov "Rejoinder": "Where Is the President Hurrying To?"]

[Text] It seems that oil of turpentine is appearing in drugstores. Owing to its great shortage it has up to now been dished out only drop by drop to the creators of the latest draft Constitution. And this is the result: On 12 May the latest Russian Federation presidential edict appeared, "On Measures to Complete the Preparation of the New Russian Federation Constitution." Its thrust is quite simple: First, the constitutional pancake is to be baked by 10 June, using as its basis the "draft presented by the Russian Federation president"; and second, the circle of cooks is determined.

Boris Yeltsin has decided to pluck away from himself (temporarily?) that part of him called the chairman of the Constitutional Commission, formed by the first Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies. Today he believes the only legal state person to be... himself. Hence the circle of cooks. In the "working group to finalize the draft Constitution" established the other day B. Yeltsin entrusted himself, 14 members of his administration and government, and 14 administration heads appointed by him with the difficult burden of the training preparation.

The new edict also appoints assistants in accelerated law-generation. A Constitutional Conference is scheduled for 5 June in Moscow. Two representatives from

each Federation subject (probably those to whom the president officially presented his draft?) will be invited to it, along with holders of the mandate of "the president's representatives" banned by the Congress of Russian Federation People's Deputies, and also delegates from parliamentary factions which agree to take part in the sprint race and are kindly allowed to take part in it. Five days and nights have been placed at their disposal to smooth down the edges of the president's draft.

And then what? Who will constitute the technical control department which will have to certify that this eminent project is not defective? The people have recognized (notably in the 25 April referendum!) the sole quality-control inspector for this type of product—the Russian Congress of People's Deputies. Is the president hurrying so as not to be late in gladdening the hearts of the 10th Congress with a gift made with his own hand? Or does the 12 May edict fix the timetable for yet another presidential coup d'etat?

Muscovites Surveyed on Two Draft Constitutions

MK1805105093 Moscow MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 18 May 93 p 2

[O. Savelev report under the rubric "Around the Clock Nonstop": "Muscovites on the Russian Constitution"]

[Text] On 13 May 1993, the Moscow branch of the All-Russia Center for the Study of Public Opinion (Komkon-2) conducted a flash poll of 879 residents of the capital city. The answers to some of the questions in this survey on the drafting and adoption of a Russian constitution are given in percentages.

Are you familiar with the main propositions of the drafts of the Russian constitution, one of which has been proposed by B. Yeltsin, the other by the Supreme Soviet Constitutional Commission?
Familiar with both—17
Familiar with Yeltsin's draft—12
Familiar with Constitutional Commission draft—1
Familiar with neither—68
Hard to tell—2

Which of the two Russian constitution drafts would you support?
Proposed by Yeltsin—35
Proposed by Constitutional Commission—5
Neither—9
Hard to tell—51

In what manner, do you think, a new Russian constitution should be adopted?
At a Supreme Soviet Session—3
At a Congress of People's Deputies—5
At a special constitutional assembly—29
At a nationwide referendum—46
Hard to tell—17

Found relatively more frequently among those who support the presidential draft constitution were entrepreneurs, specialists, pensioners, and in general men, persons from 40 to 56 years of age, and persons of a high educational level.

Speaking in support of the Constitutional Commission draft were, somewhat more often, military and militia men, executives of various ranks, low-level white-collar workers, and generally those above 55 and with a high school education.

Economic Issues

Fedorov Opens Industrialist, Government Conference

LD1805092293 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0800 GMT 18 May 93

[Text] A conference of directors of industrial enterprises has opened with the Russian Government, with the heads of 48 enterprises from 37 Russian regions, members of the government, and representatives of the Supreme Soviet and the Commodity Producers for Reform faction of deputies taking part. Opening the conference, Russian Deputy Prime Minister Boris Fedorov declared that the aim of the conference was to discuss how enterprises are adapting to economic realities under current conditions. The government is ready to study all proposals and criticisms from the commodity producers. The market economy is such that we can define only the general framework: entrepreneurs themselves have to do the rest, the deputy prime minister said.

Fedorov on Payments Crisis

LD1805142293 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1100 GMT 18 May 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] As the payments crisis mounted, $9 billion was expended on Russian enterprises, Finance Minister Boris Fedorov complained at a meeting with industrialists today where, perhaps for the first time, representatives of the authorities and the managers of industry tried calmly to find a prescription to treat the crisis.

This meeting, devised by the Finance Ministry and the State Property Committee, should be an important stage along the way from general confrontation to an objective exchange of experience and ideas, which are coming forward now in unprecedented numbers in the localities and which are not to be found in any textbook. The meeting was attended by 47 managers selected to represent various industries, forms of ownership, and regions. The range of problems was varied, too, from the unsatisfactory performance of the banking system to industry's experience of survival.

The industrialists insistently called for a normal legislative climate to be established, noting that 62 acts of

legislation do not allow them to move forward. They spoke out against protectionism by Western firms on the home market, which was once counted among the reasons for the growth in inflation. It was generally thought that the outcome of this meeting should not be confined only to statements of experience and ideas, but that the most important thing should be that this experience and these ideas should be competently and urgently put into practice.

Fedorov on Need for Further Reforms

LD1805162993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1427 GMT 18 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Podyploskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 18 May—"Russia is, in fact, only approaching economic reform. Until now all we have been doing is hastily patching up holes in the Soviet system," Russian Vice Premier Boris Fedorov stated today, addressing a conference of leaders of industrial enterprises.

According to the vice premier, in previous years only price liberalization and privatization could be referred to as being integral parts of the reform, the implementation of which has already started. "We need to carry out a reform of the budget sphere, a tax reform, and a trade reform," he said.

Summing up the results of the conference, Boris Fedorov noted that from the directors' speeches he obtained an answer favorable for the government on the question of whether industry is moving further into market relations or is in favor of restoring state planning.

The present government is still not the state machine which could conform to high standards of market economy, the vice premier noted. It is far from being united, it has contradictions. The principle of continuity is not being observed, and people do not have time to master the sectors of work entrusted to them. In addition, the government is distracted from constructive work by political conflicts.

We understand, Boris Fedorov stressed, that industry needs from the government economic and political policies which would help to get normal market relations going.

Chernomyrdin Signs Decree on Small Businesses

LD1705205393 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 17 May 93

[Text] A Russian Government decision has established a range of priority measures to develop and extend state support for small businesses. The document, signed by Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin, terms the state support for small businesses one of the most important directions of the economic reform. It is envisaged to elaborate relevant draft laws and to alter existing laws to tight deadlines.

Chernomyrdin Decree on Debt Obligations With Former Union

LD1905110293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0958 GMT 19 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Podyapolsky]

[Text] Moscow May 19 TASS—Russian Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin signed a decree on concluding agreements with former republics of the USSR on settling matters of the successorship of the foreign debt and assets of the former USSR.

Under the document, the Russian side will be insisting on including in the draft agreements the provisions that the USSR's national debt and assets are regarded as they are defined in the treaty on successorship of the foreign debt and assets of the USSR signed in December 1991. The shares of Russia and other former republics are established with taking into account the actual number of states that signed the treaty.

In addition, it is surmised that the former republics of the USSR transfer to Russia the obligations to pay their share in the foreign debt of the USSR as it was on December 1, 1991, and that Russia accepts these obligations. For the payment of the part of the foreign debt for which the former union republics are responsible these states turn over to Russia their shares in the assets of the former USSR as they were on December 1, 1991, and Russia accepts them.

Russian Deputy Premier Aleksandr Shokhin is authorised to conduct negotiations and sign the agreements.

Government Urged To Give Regular 'Public Evaluation'

PM1805140793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 May 93 First Edition p 8

["Editorial Office Viewpoint": "Russians Have Agreed To Participate in the Reforms and Expect Clear Government Action"]

[Text] Distraction with politics is damaging the economy. No one has yet learned how to boost commodity output while people are attending rallies and demonstrations. To work well you have to think about work. Today's political waves postpone such a prospect.

It is the government which can still play the main role in getting us out of this situation. A role which it is not playing for the time being, while the political chaos ensuing from the dramatic reshuffles, whereby "macroeconomists" in the government are replaced by "directors" for necessary (or unnecessary) tactical purposes, simply intensifies.

We have been waiting for a new reform program from the Chernomyrdin government since December. There have been individual confidence-building actions. In February the government announced the launch of a campaign for a phased reduction of the federal budget to

5 percent of GDP by the end of the year and of the average monthly rate of money supply increase to 7-10 percent. But since that February decision Russians have received no further clarification regarding the government program.

You can tell the population at length that the drafting of yet another priority program, which is subsequently to become part of an even more extensive program, is just about to be completed. You can sincerely and not without grounds expatiate on the merits of the privatization program. But you have to remember one of the rules of logic understood by the ancients. A statement of the general is a statement of the particular. But a statement of the particular is not, unfortunately, a statement of the general. So even voucher privatization, which is sustaining Russians today with by no means groundless hopes for the future, simply cannot serve as the sole criterion, guarantor, and symbol of general economic development.

Paradoxically, greater clarity and flexibility is being shown today by the West, to which Gaydar for a year honestly demonstrated the nonapplicability in Russia of the rigid, stereotyped approaches in the financial sphere, and this view is now supported by a growing number of Western economists. What have we come up with during this time? Can we leave it to the mass media to interpret government intentions? Is it not time now to determine where we stand and state publicly that we are building a market and investing the state's remaining money in such and such priority programs while not investing in others, and that this should give Russia such and such a return. If clarity is to be maintained after such an action, is it not time for the government to assume the duty of making a public evaluation at least every two weeks of the progress we have made during that time?

If the previous government had rendered such an account, it might still be at work today.

Reform Seen Gaining Ground Despite Government Efforts

MK1805095493 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No 17, 18 May 93 (signed to press 17 May) p 1

[Mikhail Leontyev report: "Stabilization Guaranteed"]

[Excerpt] As all the specialists predicted, the May inflation indices are even now much higher than those in April. That is to say, the promised inflation wave swept the country precisely at a time when the prime minister and, later, the president announced the alleged start of stabilization.

The post-reform situation in economic policy is simply amazing. It is precisely the government, which appeared to have received a mandate for pursuing reform, that launches all the superinflationary programs, from indexing savings account deposits and raising pensions to undertaking giant investment projects in order to make the economy "more socially oriented" and "to restructure" it.

The prime minister's promises to "nip inflation at any cost," viewed against the backdrop of Oleg Lobov's appointment as deputy prime minister for the economy, are a lie. The idea that any market-oriented reform may be reconciled with the recreation of Gosplan while handing over to it not only the centralized investment planning but also, according to Lobov, the direct management of all the sectors of the economy, is an even greater lie. At present, the government and the president no longer have any "scapegoat" to be held responsible for the failure of the alleged stabilization policies. This issue, however, does not concern them as long as the next elections, referendums, or plebiscites are a long way off: the president is preoccupied with passing some mythical constitution, and the government with rooting out the reformers that crept into it. The process under way in the economy now can be termed, in abbreviated fashion, the struggle of the reforms with the government. In this, fortunately, reforms are bound to take the upper hand, the most unmanageable and painful reforms, but the only ones that are still possible under a government like this. [passage omitted]

Central Bank To Introduce 50,000-Ruble Banknotes

LD1805093193 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0800 GMT 18 May 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] In the near future, 50,000-ruble banknotes will be put into circulation in Russia. This was confirmed by Valeriyan Kulikov, first deputy chairman of the Central Bank of Russia, during a trip to Yekaterinburg. In his words, the continuation of negative trends in the financial sphere could lead to 100,000-ruble banknotes being brought into circulation, perhaps in October.

Media & Military Issues

Press Ministry Panel Debates Application of Media Law

PM1805164193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 May 93 First Edition p 2

[Georgiy Ivanov-Smolenskiy report: "Neither DEN Nor Other Publications Will Be Allowed To Break Law on Mass Media"]

[Text] This year the State Inspectorate for the Protection of the Free Press and the Mass Media issued 77 warnings to the mass media concerning violations stipulated by Article 4 of the Law "On the Mass Media" (the article outlines a range of subjects on which publication is not allowed). Fourteen warnings were for inciting intolerance of various kinds, and six were for calling for the

seizure of power and the violent overthrow of the constitutional system. These figures were cited at a collegium session of the Russian Ministry of the Press and Information.

Judging from the data cited at the collegium session, neither paper prices nor an increase in distribution costs are affecting the growth of Russia's information field in any way. Every week the Ministry of the Press and Information issues an average of around 36 mass media registration certificates, and the state inspectorate is still issuing at least 30. Its chief, People's Deputy Petr Luchinskiy, noted in this connection that both the ministry and the inspectorate have the additional burden of protecting freedom of speech and protecting viewers, readers, and listeners from the abuse of this freedom. Reporting that the inspectorate had filed 65 charges concerning newspapers' violation of the Code of Administrative Responsibility (publication without registration and without furnishing the mandatory copies) and had insisted that criminal proceedings be taken against two fringe publications (for advertising procurement and intimate relations), Luchinskiy stressed that monitoring of compliance with the Law on the Mass Media will be tightened up.

The recent hearing in Moscow's Dzerzhinskiy People's Court of the Ministry of the Press and Information's suit against DEN newspaper's editorial office—at which the "patriots" behaved much more provocatively than even "Pamyat" during the investigation of its invasion of MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS—confirms the correctness of these intentions of the ministry and inspectorate (a similar suit, as is known, has been brought against SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA). The state inspectorate informed IZVESTIYA that, if the suit to terminate DEN's activity is upheld, the institution of criminal proceedings against certain of the newspaper's staffers and authors cannot be ruled out.

However, monitoring the application of the Law on the Mass Media throughout Russian territory has now been made considerably more difficult for an elementary reason: There are only 27 regional inspectorates for the country. (Thus, an inspector attached to St. Petersburg is forced to serve Kaliningrad and Murmansk as well.) Moreover, only 10 inspectorates are under federal command, the remainder being under the control of the republics comprising the Russian Federation, which does not always allow them to be sufficiently independent. The participation of the Prosecutor's Office and the Ministry of Internal Affairs in monitoring the application of the Law on the Mass Media can hardly be considered adequate—to put it mildly their representatives who participated in the work of the collegium session did not show particular activeness or awareness regarding the question being discussed. It was also proposed at the collegium session to limit subsidies for the mass media which are breaking the law, and to draft a number of legally binding documents in the near future which would improve the operating mechanism of the Law on the Mass Media, especially Article 4.

No Plans To Abolish Press, Media Ministry

LD1805195293 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 18 May 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The press bureau of the Ministry for Press and Mass Media has reported that reports of a plan to disband the Ministry for Press and Mass Media and to delegate its functions to other departments is completely groundless. Viktor Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers, stated today in a conversation with Mikhail Fedotov, the minister for press, that neither the president nor the government have any intention of abolishing the Ministry for Press and Information.

Court Supports IZVESTIYA in Conflict With Parliament

LD1905090693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0844 GMT 19 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Oleg Velichko]

[Text] Moscow May 19 TASS—The Russian Consitutional Court dealt a blow on parliament on Wednesday [19 May] saying that its resolution regarding the influential "IZVESTIYA" newspaper does not correspond to several articles of the Constitution.

"The editing board won the case completely", editor-in-chief of "IZVESTIYA" Igor Golembiovskiy told TASS.

After three days of consideration of the parliamentary resolution which attempted to cancel the independence of the daily which used to be a publication of the former Soviet parliament the court ruled that the journalists of the newspaper have the right to independence. It also told the parliament that it has to abide by Article 63 of acting Constitution which guarantees to every citizen legal protection in court.

Minister Replies to Editor on Press Freedom Issues

PM1705133593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 14 May 93 p 1

[Open letter (dated 11 May 1993) from Mikhail Fedotov, Russian minister of press and information: "The 'Cage': A View From Without and From Within—Reply to Open Letter From ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI Chief Editor V.N. Kucher Entitled 'Our Minister Has Put Our Newspaper in an Unenviable "Cage" ' (RV—No. 85)"]

[Text] Esteemed Mr. Chief Editor, Dear Friend and Colleague Valeriy Nikolayevich!

Do old acquaintances really have to resort to clearing the air with the aid of open letters in a newspaper? Would it really have been so difficult to approach the unintentional offender during a recess in that chief editors' club session where the words which so wounded you were

spoken and, over a cigarette, to express your concerns: the lack of editorial premises, the red tape delaying ratification of the Charter, the backwardness of the technological base?... Especially as all of these problems have to be resolved by the government decree which we have been preparing together and which together we await from one day to the next.

But you chose a different means of communication, and the grievance transmuted into the sharp (too sharp, maybe?) tone of your open letter. In this situation, I am forced to explain myself on the pages of your esteemed newspaper.

So, in front of members of the chief editor's club and foreign colleagues, I was imprudent enough to declare that, in our country, apart from the independent press, there exists another, dependent press, and by way of an example of the latter I named ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI. Judging from your open letter, the stated thesis did not trouble you, but the example offended you.

I hope you agree that in our country there are still many newspapers which are seen by their founders as collective propagandists, agitators, and organizers. The role of such publications is a traditional one for our historical mentality—to be a mouthpiece, a megaphone, a "self-advertising agency" in the hands of their masters. And it must be said that in most cases the aforementioned role is fulfilled with enviable fervor.

But the newspaper only has to renounce obedience to the founding-father for the chief editor immediately to become "unprofessional" and "politically illiterate," for budget allocations to dry up, for rental contracts for premises to become invalid, and so on. We at the Ministry of Press and Information constantly run up against such situations, and we invariably offer the obstinate editorial team our shoulder: We grant subsidies, offer legal aid. Herein lies the credo of the ministry, supported by the president and the government—economic and legal protection for the freedom of the mass media. Of course, within the bounds of the law.

I am convinced: The greater the number of publications which acquire legal and economic independence from their state founders, the more significant will be the press' role as an autonomous "fourth power." By remaining an organ of the "first" (representative), the "second" (executive), or the "third" (juridical) powers, the press simply logically will be unable to become the "fourth" power. The best help in acquiring independence is journalistic professionalism, support from readers and advertisers, and help from the state. The last factor is by no means linked exclusively with the current economic situation in Russia. Even in prosperous France, my colleague and Communications Minister A. Carignon is now setting up a fund to support the press. And you know, France has neither parliamentary nor government newspapers.

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI's current difficulties, I am sure, are transient. The government is by no means striving to somehow limit the professional autonomy of the editorial team, guaranteed by law, or to render the newspaper "submissive, blindly fulfilling a social order." The internationally recognized Charter of the Freedom of the Press states the following: "Editors of government information organs must have the right to publish diverse viewpoints. This provision must be reinforced by law and practice." But this by no means entails identifying the government with the independent press.

Today, ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI is a government newspaper. This is its juridical and economic status. And there is nothing wrong with this. As far as I can judge, official, de facto dependence merely enhances an editorial team's autonomy in its approach to various government decisions. But in this, fortunate case, he who pays the piper abstains from calling the tune. The main thing is that the music should be good.

[Signed] Mikhail Fedotov, Russian minister of the press and information

[Dated] 11 May 1993

Security Ministry Spokesman on Fighting 'Extremist' Forces

PM1805132393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 May 93 First Edition p 8

[Report by Aleksey Kondaurov, chief of the Russian Security Ministry Public Relations Center: "The Security Ministry Does Not Engage in Political Investigation But It Does Combat Extremists"]

[Text] The days since the tragic events of 1 May have seen no shortage of assessments of and commentaries on the bloody tragedy which occurred in Moscow. That is understandable: The shock wave from what happened has been too strong and the impatience to establish the prime causes of the tragedy and discover the guilty parties in order to prevent any recurrence of such events has been too great. It is perfectly understandable that in the search for the truth the public's gaze should turn toward the law-enforcement agencies—the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Prosecutor's Office, and the Security Ministry. Complaints of the "What were the agencies doing?" type are being leveled with increasing frequency and insistence at the Security Ministry. Is such a reproach fair? There is no doubt whatever that everyone is entitled to say this, as it is the security agencies' direct duty to protect Russia's citizens.

It is not surprising that the demand for the Security Ministry to "guarantee the security of the state and its citizens" should run throughout the article by V. Vyzhutovich published in IZVESTIYA (No. 85). Another thing is surprising, however—the author's desire to draw unambiguous conclusions as to who is to blame for the bloodshed, and to what extent, in advance

of the completion of the investigation and legal proceedings. While everything may already be clear to the author, that does not mean it is clear to the Prosecutor's Office.

No, the Security Ministry does not interfere in the activity of political parties and public associations which do not pursue the aim of changing the constitutional system by force, nor will it, I am sure, do so in the future either. But that does not mean that it does not combat those who harbor extremist designs, that it does not expose and cut short the activity of all kinds of riffraff for whom the value of human life is an empty phrase. It does do all that. Incidentally a gang of criminals engaged in the manufacture of weapons was arrested by Security Ministry personnel 1 May, while on 7 May a hostage was released and kidnappers detained.

Indeed, the "provocateurs who have declared war on the state, the lawful authorities, and society" are not the opposition, and the toughest sanctions envisaged by the criminal law will be applied to them. This will be done not to satisfy anyone's wishes but in conformity with the Security Ministry's set tasks. However, both the representative organs and the president can take the Security Ministry to task for failure to take prompt and exhaustive measures to prevent political provocations. A system of control exercised by the power structures exists for that purpose.

However, we should not confuse specific accountability with the desire on the part of the authors of some recent articles again to press the security agencies to organize political investigations.

Ground Forces Chief Observes 'Combined-Arms Army' Exercises

PM1805090793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 May 93 p 1

[Valeriy Gromak report: "Ground Forces Commander in Chief Happy With 11th Army Tank Troops' Training"]

[Text] Colonel General Vladimir Semenov and a group of High Command officers observed firing exercises in the course of checks carried out in units and combined units of the separate Guards Combined-Arms Army withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Northwestern Group of Forces as of 1 April.

The commander in chief thanked the tank troops for their good display, and presented wristwatches to standouts—Lieutenant Colonel Aleksandr Zolotarev, battalion commander; Senior Lieutenant Aleksandr Spakin, battalion chief of staff; and Lieutenant Oleg Khodakov, tank platoon commander.

Defense Officials Evaluate Reform Progress

OW1805070293

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television and Dubl Networks in Russian at 0001 GMT on 16 May carried an "Aty-Baty" program devoted to the anniversary of the Russian Army and the 9 May Victory Day holiday. The program begins with a montage of scenes depicting military life accompanied by a guitarist singing a song about the army. The video then cuts to show Army General Pavel Sergeyevich Grachev, the Russian defense minister, addressing a meeting. There is no indication of where or when the meeting was held.

Grachev says: "It is sometimes disappointing to hear that there are no reforms, that it is all empty words, just dubious reports presented by the defense minister, his deputies, and his commanders to the president and the Supreme Soviet.

"I must say directly that this is not true. It is absolutely not true. Anyone who visits the troops—particularly, anyone who has visited the troops recently—can seen the results of the work that we have carried out. If you ask whether or not we have done everything, then, of course, the answer is no, of course not. But we have carried out 70 to 80 percent of what we planned for 1992, and we are implementing what we planned for 1993. The main thing is that you can now see stability in the Army."

Grachev's remarks are followed by several brief interviews with unidentified army officers who say that the past, first year of the Russian Army was complex. Some say that there were changes for the better, while others see no changes at all. The video then shows an unidentified correspondent interviewing Andrey Afanasyevich Kokoshin, Russian first deputy defense minister, sitting alongside an unidentified aircraft.

The correspondent says: "Some say that yes, indeed, a new Russian Army has been created, that yes, indeed, it is a fundamentally new Army, that there have been certain achievements, and yes, that there have been improvements. A process is underway, and we are on the correct path. Yet, there is a completely different group that is also quite numerous—in fact, it is made up of officers who say that on the contrary, brothers, everything has become much worse, everything is falling apart, everything has become useless. There has been no breakthrough and no reforms. How would you explain the fact that there are two such opposite positions and what is your own personal opinion on this issue?"

Kokoshin replies: "First, it is characteristic for society to have such polarized opinions when it is at a turning point such as the one in which we currently find ourselves, and the Army is part of society. In fact, we are living through one of the most complex and responsible stages in our history; therefore, this polarity of views simply indicates that people care about the future of the Armed Forces. This is very important. Above all, I have always been afraid of apathy in the Armed Forces. Often

last year—particularly in the spring, summer, and early fall—I noticed that there was a kind of hopelessness and no belief in the future among the troops, among many officers. Those who were younger and more energetic resigned. Resignations were submitted wholesale."

The video then shows a street interview with an Air Force major who notes that many officers have resigned. This is followed by an unidentified correspondent interviewing Sergey Vladimirovich Stepashin, chairman of the Committee for Defense and Security of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, in an office.

Stepashin says: "If we lose the backbone of the Armed Forces, and I mean the officer corps, it will be extremely difficult to restore it. So, currently one of the main problems is to preserve the officer corps, particularly our young officers, say those who are 20 to 30 years old. These are company, platoon, and battalion officers, and they are the ones who are leaving."

The correspondent asks: "You said that we have managed to preserve the Armed Forces. But, have the Armed Forces managed to preserve their combat capability?"

Stepashin answers: "This is a problem. Let us hope that neither history nor fate give us a practical opportunity to prove or demonstrate whether or not we have retained our combat capability. I think that this is the major problem because our divisions are enormously undermanned. There is a certain disparity between our committee and the General Staff and the Defense Ministry command over this. The practice of attempting to man our divisions at 30, 40, 50, or 60 percent is faulty. This issue was raised at the Supreme Soviet Presidium and, as you may recall, in our committee's report to the seventh congress. Yet, we are creating new staffs.

"It would be better if we had half the number of divisions at about 80 to 90 percent strength because what are most of our servicemen doing? And I am not talking about the Tamanskaya, Kantemirovskaya, or several other divisions. They are protecting their equipment, guarding themselves, carrying out day-to-day housekeeping activities in order to keep themselves fed, and building housing and roads."

After brief shots of troops engaged in road construction, the video again shows Kokoshin being interviewed. He says: "I think the situation is probably not as good as it appears to some optimists, but it is also not as dramatic as the pessimists maintain. I think we are moving step by step, with a great amount of effort, towards a normal level, a normal regime of work as far as the life of the Armed Forces and what we call the defense complex is concerned. Both the tests that we are carrying out on the latest equipment and the exercises that we are holding attest to this. This includes the display of the Russian Navy flag in various parts of the world and the fact that we are successfully exhibiting our equipment. From the point of view of deliveries of our equipment, however, the successes could be improved upon.

"Nevertheless, I think that a great deal has been done, although far from everything has been achieved. The important point is in the future. After all, results can be measured only after a longer period of time has elapsed. It has been a year since we established the Russian Armed Forces. We have allies. We have solved a number of very acute issues, particularly in the hot spots, and we have truly entered a more normal work regime, which corresponds more closely with the very spirit, nature, and concept of the Armed Forces."

The video then cuts to show Stepashin, who says: "We, I mean the Supreme Soviet and the government, are compelled to turn the pyramid of our military budget upside down, and the leadership of the Defense Ministry understands this perfectly well. In other words: Previously, up to 80 percent went to what we call [words indistinct] military technical policy or the development, construction, and creation of new arms and equipment. Now, something on the order of 70 percent goes toward maintenance of the Armed Forces. That includes wages, pensions, various benefits, and the most difficult problem of all, housing construction.

"What is left over goes toward what we are talking about, so, obviously, this is a very serious issue. It is a very serious question. But I want to reiterate that the government and the Supreme Soviet are striving to see to it that those specialists who have not yet left the military industrial complex retain their potential to some extent."

The video then briefly shows the skyline of an industrialized city, after which it cuts back to show a correspondent interviewing Kokoshin. The correspondent asks: "The director corps, or rather, some of its representatives say that it is becoming unprofitable to remain in the system of state enterprises. How is this issue being solved? How will the well-known scrapping problem, in particular, be solved?"

Kokoshin replies: "Well you know that I believe that the transformation of a considerable portion of the enterprises making up the defense complex is unavoidable. But I think there will be cases in which enterprises will remain state enterprises if defense orders amount to 30 or 40 percent—or even less—since they will not see any advantages in being auctioned off. On the other hand, we have scientific industrial associations and powerful complexes in which defense products dominate that have been auctioned off but that continue to work with us, with the Defense Ministry, very actively. In general, we look toward the future with hope since strong design bureaus have been preserved in the framework of these enterprises and associations, and in some cases, their scientific and scientific-technical potential is even increasing."

The video again cuts to show a correspondent interviewing Stepashin. The correspondent asks: "Russian troops can be found in many parts of the former union, on the territories of sovereign states. They even find

themselves in situations where fighting is going on around them and blood is being spilt, and there are various scenarios for the possible involvement of our troops in military conflicts. What is parliament and your committee doing to prevent this or to use the Army wisely in such situations?"

Stepashin replies: "By no means have we rescinded the decision made by our Congress of People's Deputies while there was still a Soviet Union and a Soviet Armed Forces—and we all reaffirmed this at our seventh congress—that participation of our Armed Forces in the so-called hot spots—not really so-called since they are hot spots where people are being killed, what you said is right—must be on a voluntary basis only, the voluntary choice of these servicemen. As a rule, the servicemen serving there must be volunteers who are under contract. In fact, this is being done today.

"If we analyze these hot spots, this generally only concerns Tajikistan. As you know, we have no Armed Forces in Armenia or Azerbaijan. As far as Georgia and Abkhazia are concerned, there is an active negotiating process underway there and despite the Georgian side's repeated accusations— I hope Shevardnadze's visit and his talks with Yeltsin this week will remove many of the questions and misunderstandings—we are not directly engaged in Sukhumi, despite sympathies or antipathies. The same thing goes for the 14th Army in the Dniestr region, which today serves as a fairly serious guarantor of stability; no fighting is taking place there.

"So basically we are talking about Tajikistan. This includes our border troops from the 21st Division. I have already said that this is where this rule should and must work. If you would like to know my point of view, well, I categorically oppose the participation of our Armed Forces in solving any internal political, ethnic, or interethnic conflicts. However, today we do not have enough internal troops. The problem of bringing them up to strength is real since inductees also serve in them.

"So, when the question of what we are doing in Tajikistan is sometimes asked, it is a question that I would also ask if I had not been there. We went there with the interparliamentary assembly's Commission for Defense and Security, and I had an opportunity to see for myself, together with my colleagues, just how very important our presence is there. It is not only important to Tajikistan, which today maintains traditionally warm and friendly relations with us—particularly its leadership, in contrast to some other former Central Asian republics of the Soviet Union—but the Tajik-Afghan border today is, if you will, also Russia's border.

"If we cannot ensure stability there, particularly along the border, the infiltration of armed bandits, narcotics, and everything else will immediately result in penetration of the Russian Federation's territory via Tajikistan. Moreover, we could have a very serious factor for instability on our border. So, yes, we are defending the interests of Tajikistan, the interests of a friendly people and state, but we are primarily defending the interests of the Russian Federation."

The video then shows a montage of shots of uniformed men firing from fortified positions, then cuts back to show Kokoshin. The correspondent asks: "In your opinion, what is the main thing that has been achieved this year?"

Kokoshin answers: "I believe the main thing is that the Russian Armed Forces actually exist today. They are fulfilling the tasks that they have been given, tasks relating to combat training, operational training, and, for instance, tasks involving peacekeeping functions. I must say that we ourselves sometimes do not recognize how successfully some of these tasks have been fulfilled when measured by world standards. For instance, in Moldova when our peacekeeping forces were sent there according to the corresponding instructions and joint decisions of several states. Generally, they brought about a situation in which the conflict, which threatened to grow into a very large-scale military confrontation, was largely extinguished, and the situation there is a lot better than it was before our peacekeeping forces began their activities."

This interview is followed by more shots of military activities. The concluding portion of the program shows the activities of war veterans groups on 9 May.

Supreme Soviet

Clemency Asked for Russian Soldiers in Azerbaijan

LD1805191893 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1800 GMT 18 May 93

[Text] The Russian Supreme Soviet has issued a statement asking the Azerbaijani president and parliament to hand over to the judiciary the [Russian] soldiers who have been sentenced to death.

The statement says, in particular: The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet confirms its firm adherence to UN principles which condemn criminal actions by mercenaries and gives assurances that Russia will try the Russian citizens [words indistinct] fully in keeping with international law and in an open and public manner.

Supreme Soviet 14 May Plenary Session Held

PM1805084793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 15 May 93 First Edition p 1

[Report by Aleksandr Linkov: "Law on Republican Budget Adopted"]

[Text] There were 15 questions submitted at the evening plenary sitting of parliament. They included a whole block of questions connected with financial problems. But first of all the law "On the Russian Federation's Republican Budget for 1993," returned to the Supreme Soviet by the president, had to be examined.

The pretext for returning it was the Russian president's disagreement with a number of articles of the law and the draft decree to which he made the relevant amendments.

First Deputy Finances Minister S. Dubinin gave a substantiation of them to the deputies. A. Pochinok, chairman of the parliamentary commission for the budget, plans, taxes, and prices, who delivered the coreport, at the same time expressed regret and surprise that the executive power had spent nearly a whole month on examining and submitting amendments, when there was at most two days' work.

During the repeat discussion a number of the president's amendments were adopted, some were rejected. In particular there was no support for the proposal to replace the provision of goods for commodity bonds and special-purpose vouchers with monetary compensation for the owners of these bonds. The refusal to finance the Federal Information Center was reaffirmed. Especially as the decision on this department was taken by the Congress of People's Deputies and not the parliament. There was no approval for the president's proposal to increase the upper limit for the internal state debt from 10 trillion to 13 trillion rubles. The government will now notify parliament every quarter on the progress of the execution of the budget.

Having adopted the law on the republican budget, the deputies discussed a number of other draft laws during the sitting.

At yesterday's sitting the Supreme Soviet supported the decision adopted the day before by the Soviet of the Republic on the query to the Constitutional Court regarding the compliance with the Russian Constitution of the president's actions in adopting the new Fundamental Law.

Law on State Secrets Seen Infringing Human Rights

MK1805090493 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No 17, 18 May 93 (signed to press 17 May) p 2

[Yelena Afanasyeva report under the "Secret" rubric: "Parliament Gives Go-Ahead to Classifying Russia 'Secret.' Supreme Soviet Chambers Approve Law "On State Secrets" in First Reading"]

[Text] The Russian Supreme Soviet's approval of the main provisions of the Law "On State Secrets" has aroused concern among liberal-minded deputies. They fear that Russia could be returned to a regime of ubiquitous secrecy as existed in the Soviet Union.

The official conclusion on the draft presented by Mikhail Mityukov, chairman of the Parliamentary Legislation Committee, says that by defining classified information as information "indirectly disclosing... a state secret," the authors of this legislative act make it possible to "expand arbitrarily the range of data referred to as state secrets."

It is not ruled out that if adopted, the law would become a good weapon for the bureaucrats in their struggle against the press. A large number of officials will get a unique opportunity to hold back virtually any information on the economy or politics citing considerations of state secrecy. The draft law says that "information on foreign policy and foreign economic activity" of the state, and "on scientific, research and development projects that have important or high-priority economic significance" may be classified as secret. It does not make it clear who will be defining what "priority" means and how publicly this will be done.

"Based on this law, anything could be classified as secret—from the budget to the rights and freedoms of a particular individual," said Mikhail Molostvov, a member of the parliamentary human rights committee. According to him, "the committee is simply horrified over this draft."

One of the reasons for the human rights activists' concern is an article in the draft law that lists among the grounds for denying citizens access to state secrets "a citizen's or his close relatives' permanent residence in states that have no treaties and agreements with the Russian Federation on mutual protection of state secrets, or the application by said persons to go to these states for permanent residence," as well as "the fact that he and/or his close relatives has dual citizenship." With the institution of dual citizenship becoming widespread following the disintegration of the USSR, this clause provides grounds for denying access to state secrets to one Russian citizen in two.

The draft law also limits the rights of citizens "who have or earlier had access to secret documents," and moreover this may affect "the right to privacy, the inviolability of correspondence, telephone conversations, telegraph, and other communications." A citizen's loss of access to secret documents may serve as grounds for dismissing him from his position at the discretion of management.

"In fact," Mikhail Molostvov said, "the system of political surveillance is reproducing itself. This law means legalization of secret police."

The bill is expected to be presented for a second reading in June. Its authors from the Supreme Soviet committee on defense and security headed by Sergey Stepashin probably hope that the tightening of the secrecy regime may be offset by the "democratic nature" of the authorities.

WGF Commander Cited on Troop Withdrawal Decree

PM1805123193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 May 93 p 1

[Vladimir Yermolin report under "From Our Newsdesk" rubric: "Decree Adopted on Measures To Ensure Withdrawal of Russian Troops From Other States' Territory"]

[Text] The draft decree "On Additional Measures To Ensure the Reception of and Provision of Amenities for the Russian Troops Being Withdrawn From Other States to Russian Federation Territory" was submitted to parliament for discussion Friday [14 May].

The draft was prepared by the Committee for the Affairs of Invalids and War and Labor Veterans and the Provision of Social Protection for Servicemen and Members of Their Families.

The document envisages a number of measures designed to solve the problems associated with shortening the troop withdrawal deadline. Colonel General Matvey Burlakov, commander in chief of the Western Group of Forces, rated the draft as unconditionally useful and timely. "The main thing," he said in a conversation with KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's correspondent, "is for the adopted decree to start operating."

The draft decree "On Additional Measures..." was adopted by a majority of votes during the morning sitting.

Defense Committee Airs Security, Stability Problems

LD1805165593 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1330 GMT 18 May 93

[Dispatch by correspondent Tatyana Chemodanova on news conference held at Russian Supreme Soviet Committee for Defense and Security on 18 May, including recording of interview with Committee Chairman Sergey Stepashin]

[Text] Addressing journalists, Committee Chairman Sergey Stepashin said that he and the members of the committee are very worried by events in Russia in recent months. These events show that extremist political forces are stepping up their activities; confrontation between them has reached such a level that even the prospect of bloodshed cannot bring the leaders of those forces to their senses.

A declaration of accord for the sake of security in Russia was read out at the news conference. It urges representatives of state authorities, leaders of subjects of the federation, economic and industrial structures, political and public organizations, and the media to totally refrain from calling for violence, attempting to use force against the legitimate authorities and political opponents, and pushing the country toward civil war. The declaration condemns attempts to use the state's security forces in support of political programs. At the same time, the Committee for Defense and Security considers it necessary and justified to take measures within the law to stop any violent activities aimed at achieving political goals.

Many questions were asked at the news conference: Whether tough measures are a violation of human rights, whether extremist political forces cannot be counted on to show common sense, and what is the quickest way of moving toward stabilizing the atmosphere in Russia.

Here now is a brief interview with Committee Chairman Sergey Stepashin. I have asked him to sum up the opinions which were aired:

[Stepashin] The first and the main thing is to come to agreement with everybody—the institutions of political power, political and public organizations, those who in reality represent Russia's political interests, like our industrialists—on the rules of political life, and to agree on it this year, if you like, or may be on the rules of the political struggle, or simply speaking, not to stir up people.

We understand that the economic situation is very grave, that both the Supreme Soviet and the government made many errors. But nothing good will happen if we make thousands of people march all over Moscow, if we turn our every holiday into a political clash resulting in bloodshed, or if we try and set the internal affairs bodies, whose duty is to maintain law and order and protect our lives—and the population—against each other. Believe me, there will be no winners in this war, which will only affect ordinary people. The major part of society is tired of political rivalry and squabbles. The time has come to do some serious work, especially in the economic field. Go and ask the people, let's say, in my native St. Petersburg, who really needs rallies? If it is only Muscovites who need them—this is a joke of course—then let us set up a special zone for rallies in Moscow. Why not, as they say. The majority of the working people will not (?mind this). But when now we hear people saying that on 5 June we will march to Red Square, and on 12 June again to Red Square, and also on 22 June...

I have worked for 20 years at the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and I wonder who will actually fight crime in this situation and how long we have to tolerate this.

[Chemodanova] Thus, the declaration for the sake of security in Russia appeals to everybody who cares for the country's future and stability to respond.

Seeks End to Political Strife

LD1805172093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1007 GMT 18 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow, 18 May—The "Declaration of Accord for the Sake of the Security of Russia" calls for "the executive and legislative bodies of state power jointly to examine the possible options for the political, economic, and social development of the country with extensive involvement of political and public forces". The declaration has been drawn up on the initiative of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Committee for Defense and Security. It also contains an appeal to all political forces and public movements to declare moratoria on holding of mass rallies, demonstrations, and other political

actions until the end of the year, "that should facilitate efforts of the government to weaken the yoke of the economic crisis".

The committee calls the attention of the public, the top leadership, and leaders of political forces in Russia to the fact that internal threats are still showing a firm upward trend and that this has led society to the brink that should not be overstepped. What is needed to get out of the crisis is to consolidate all forces striving for stabilization of the situation in the country, for ensuring the security of the individual, society, and the state, the declaration states. It calls for people to refrain completely from calling for violence, attempting to use force against the legitimate authorities and political opponents, and pushing the country toward civil war and interethnic dissension.

The declaration "is not an attempt to create a new political center or a new political party", Sergey Stepashin, chairman of the committee, stressed today. The document is supported by many parliamentarians, state figures, and representatives of the public. These include Nikolay Ryabov, parliament's deputy speaker, Ramazan Abdulatipov, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet, Yuriy Yarov, deputy premier, Arkadiy Volskiy, president of the Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs, Igor Klochkov, chairman of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia, and Academicians Dmitriy Likhachev, and Nikolay Laverov.

Supreme Soviet Amends Law on Military Service

LD1905110193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1055 GMT 19 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow May 19 TASS—The amendments to the law on the military duty and military service regarding the call-up into the Russian Army and Navy will enable the Defence Ministry to call up additionally 117 thousand people to the Russian Armed Forces this spring. The amendments were adopted by the Russian parliament today at separate meetings of the chambers.

The parliamentary decree enables young people to receive secondary and specialised secondary education in schools and secondary technical schools, but they will be called up into the Army at twenty, even if they do not graduate from an educational establishment.

Another amendment to the law gives the Defence Ministry the right to call up into the Russian Army citizens of countries of the CIS, into those units that under interstate agreements are situated in the territories of these states. All the matters connected with the call-up of foreign citizens into the Russian Armed Forces will be regulated by bilateral agreements.

The amendment to the law closes the loophole to those young people who avoided the call-up, being students of higher educational establishments that have no state acreditation. They are now denied deferment of the call-up to the Russian Armed Forces.

Regional Affairs

Chechen Opposition Forces Increase Activities

LD1805193393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1911 GMT 18 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Groznyy May 18 TASS—Forces in opposition to Chechen President Dzokhar Dudayev are strengthening their positions. In response to a total information blockade on part of power structures, they not only organized the printing of leaflets, but also started broadcasting their radio and television programmes through their own transmitters, whose location is being carefully concealed. Apart from this, the Chechen Parliament's press organ, "Voice of Chechen Republic", is now being published again on the basis of a local newspaper.

It is quite possible that the republic's parliament, headed by newly elected speaker Yusup Soslambekov, and the government of popular confidence, appointed by the president and headed by Yaragiy Mamodayev, will shortly join the opposition, from which they previously dissociated themselves, in their political struggle against Dudayev.

"At least we are seeking for this, and we suggest setting up a single coordinating centre", the leader of the "Marsho" (Freedom) opposition movement, Doctor of Sciences (history) Abdula Bugayev, told TASS on Tuesday [18 May]. He believes that such unification could considerably enhance the position of forces which seek to pull the republic out of power crisis by peaceful means, namely through a people's vote on Chechnya's future form of government, scheduled for June 5.

Bugayev thinks that the Chechen people is quite capable of solving its internal problems without plunging into fratricidal fighting. Any attempt at interference from outside will aggravate the situation sharply and only strengthen positions of Dudayev's supporters, as was many times the case earlier, he said.

The opposition rally, which has being held on Theatre Square in the Chechen capital Groznyy since April 15, still continues.

President Dudayev has not taken any serious steps in the past few days. Rumours persist in Groznyy that he is making preparations for declaring Chechnya an Islamic republic, of which he is to be the imam. By this action he would probably win additional support from believers. However, religious leaders in Groznyy are hardly to agree upon such a move.

Rayon Court Rejects Ministry Bid To Close Newspaper

PM1805145193 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 18 May 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "People's Court Rejects Ministry of Information and Press Application Against SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. Court Case Against Newspaper"]

[Text] From 13-17 May Moscow City's Sverdlovskiy Rayon People's Court considered an application from the Ministry of Information and the Press to terminate the publication of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. After carefully studying all materials submitted by the ministry on the basis of which it was proposed to terminate the newspaper's activity, the court rejected the application.

A future issue will give a detailed account of the court case against the newspaper and of the ruling handed down.

Government Decree Backs Mordovian President, Administration

PM1805132593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 15 May 93 p 14

[Unattributed report: "In Support of Mordovian President and Government"]

[Text] Viktor Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers, has signed a decree on ensuring the activity of the organs of executive authority and proper public order on the territory of the Mordovian SSR.

The decree was adopted in connection with the Mordovian SSR Supreme Soviet's decision to abolish the post of republic president and terminate the powers of the nationally elected Mordovian SSR president—until the question of the constitutionality of the Mordovian SSR Supreme Soviet's decisions has been resolved in the prescribed manner.

Central organs of federal executive authority have been instructed to give the necessary assistance to the Mordovian SSR president and the republic government he heads in the exercise of their powers.

V.F. Yerin, Russian Federation minister of internal affairs, jointly with the Mordovian SSR internal affairs minister, has been instructed to take the necessary measures to ensure the protection of citizens' rights and lawful interests, of public order, of especially important facilities providing for the population's basic needs, and of government and presidential buildings on Mordovian SSR territory.

Mordovian President Issues Decree on Executive Power

LD1905080893 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0700 GMT 19 May 93

[Text] Mordovian President Vasiliy Guslyannikov has issued a decree ensuring a single system of executive power in the republic, our correspondent Nikolay Vechkayev reports. The decree is in keeping with the Russian Cabinet of Ministers' resolution of 30 April. According to the decree, all administrators and managers of industrial enterprises in the republic are only to carry out instructions of the Mordovian president, who was elected in accordance with the law by the entire republican population. As is known, Vasiliy Guslyannikov rejected the parliament's illegal decision on the abolition of the post of president in Mordovia. The conflict is to be examined at the Russian Constitutional Court on 28 May.

Ingush Vice President Praises Chernomyrdin Visit

MK1405121093 Moscow MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 14 May 93 p 2

[Dmitriy Kholodov report: "Chernomyrdin Better Than Detective Story"]

[Text] "We are very happy with the rank of the commission and the results of its work," Ingush Vice President Boris Agapov told MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS. At the request of the Ingush side, a commission to determine the republic's borders has finally been set up under Sergey Shakhray, who suits all the parties concerned. Agapov joined the commission as representative for Ingushetia. According to the vice president, however, it is still unknown when and how it will operate. But Ingushetia will sign the Federation Treaty only after its borders are determined.

Answering our question about specific amounts of assistance promised by Viktor Chernomyrdin, Boris Agapov said that "no specific figures were mentioned; we just presented to the prime minister a number of programs for financing." One of the key projects is aimed at the expansion of the oil industry. Molgabekskiy Rayon of Igushetia is rich in oil. But it is still pumped to Chechnya through joint pipelines. As a result, it is Groznyy that disposes of the oil. Hence, Ingushetia needs to build its own refinery.

The visit by so impressive a delegation—the prime minister; the speaker of the parliament's chamber, Stepashin; Shakhray—impressed the Ingush so much that instead of watching a detective story on Ostankino Television they preferred direct coverage of the meeting at the presidential palace.

Lobov Presents Yeltsin Draft to Udmurtia

MK1805105493 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 May 93 p 1

[RIA report under the rubric "In Brief": "Lobov Visits Udmurtia"]

[Text] Oleg Lobov, first vice premier and Russian minister of the economy, held a conference in Izhevsk on 17 May to discuss the draft constitution of the Russian Federation proposed by the president. Taking part in the conference were Udmurtia's leaders and scholars. Noting the draft's special features, Lobov said that the constitution would probably be adopted via referendum. After answering questions, he proposed adopting a decision approving the draft. The conference, however, limited itself to deciding on sending the president the minutes of the meeting.

Further on Regional Conference on Constitution Draft

PM1805150593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 May 93 First Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "Ryazan Conference"]

[Text] Key points in the draft of the new Russian Federation Constitution were discussed yesterday in Ryazan at a regional conference in which the leaders of 13 central Russian oblasts took part. Opening the conference, Sergey Filatov, head of the president's administration, gave the floor to Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray after some brief introductory remarks. The latter explained in detail the main provisions of the president's version of the new constitution, and answered numerous questions from those present.

The conference participants, in the main supporting the proposed draft, devoted most of their attention to the concept of the legality of the mechanism for adopting it.

Sverdlovsk Official Views Constitutional Issues

LD1805153293 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1310 GMT 18 May 93

[Text] Oleg Nikolayevich Soskovets, first deputy prime minister of the Russian Federation, has completed his Yekaterinburg tour. Here is a statement by Eduard Ratsel, head of the Sverdlovsk oblast administration, made at a news conference after the visit and sent to the Mayak editorial by our correspondent Yan Khutoryanskiy.

[Begin Ratsel recording, in progress] ...first, that we will accept the presidential draft of the constitution. In the Supreme Soviet constitution there are undoubtedly very clear points that the presidential version should take into account, and this cannot be discarded, this must be absolutely taken into account.

The next question is the main one. Economic equality between republics and oblasts must be provided for; I am talking only of economic equality at this point. This has not been included in the constitution. These games have started again - republic, oblast, kray, autonomy and so on. We have seen all this before, we are old enough to know the living history of our time, how the Soviet Union collapsed.

Today the constitution has all the ingredients for the collapse of Russia.

Next - appointments of the executive. I believe that today the time is such that the population, the people are not ready yet for the election of heads of administration of executive bodies. Therefore there must be strong presidential power, and heads of administration and governors of territories must be appointed as a temporary measure for an interim period.

There must be equality in fulfilling national traditions - this is not provided for in the constitution either.

Tell me, what is the difference between Bashkirs who live here and Bashkirs who live in Bashkiria? There is a difference: economic security and economic independence of republics is many times higher than that of oblasts and krays. The constitution provides for the same principle as in the old Soviet Union: republics as a part of Russia. so, they will be pumping out Russia's budget resources, as before - and it is already being done today because republics pay taxes to Russia according to a national system, which sets up 8-15 percent tax margin on profits, whereas we here in oblasts have to give back 50 percent.

That is why the cost of air and rail travel, rehabilitation center treatment and so forth is much lower in republics than in oblasts. That is, the republics are living at our expense, which is not right.

Now you see what kind of sovereignty we have here in Russia. Let us take the results of the referendum. It is evident that 11 republics were against the policy of the president - the results are already clear. Now 11 republics have filed a lawsuit to the Constitutional Court over their disagreement with this version of the constitution, the procedure of adoption and so on.

This is a clear attempt to tear apart one more time. We have all seen how states which have never existed in history were set up at the expense of Russia's lands - I do not want to give any names now, due to political reasons, you must understand for yourselves - but a very similar thing is happening in Russia today.

We cannot play political games any longer or engage in diplomacy. We must see very clearly today: either we preserve One russia or we keep playing politics and diplomacy and lose Russia forever, we must see this very clearly. This is of course a very serious question. I believe that the Russians who live in the republics will support this idea. I believe that Russia's referendum cannot be

avoided - in order for the people to speak for or against one Russia, for a unified territorial structure in Russia, or for a nonunified one.

Otherwise, we must understand that Russia will not be there much longer. This is only a question of time - how long it will take. [end recording]

Regions Call for Constitutional Reform

LD1805154993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1513 GMT 18 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Nikolay Kondratenko]

[Text] St. Petersburg May 18 TASS—Recent meetings of north-western regional executive power heads in Murmansk, the Russian North, and presidential representatives in Suzdal, Central Russia, have called for an immediate constitutional reform, Sergey Tsyplyayev, presidential representative in St. Petersburg and the Leningrad region, told a news conference here today.

In his words, a major economic progress condition of stable and predictable development of political processes and balance and constructive cooperation of all federal and regional power structures is not ensured by the current constitution. This threatens the very existence of the federation.

Thus, the adoption of a new code of laws to lay down basic principles in all spheres of state and public life is a prime necessity. It is possible to overcome the dyarchy only in a peaceful way and on the basis of constitutional system fundamentals, including the people's power, federalism and human rights.

The presidential draft constitution, which embodies essential provisions of all previous drafts, gives a historic chance to overcome differences and anarchy, he noted. Conference participants basically approved the draft, but said its specific provisions and norms require improvement. For instance, a clearer division of powers between bodies of federation subjects and self-government bodies is needed.

The president was recommended to convene a constitutional conference in june to discuss, improve and adopt a new Russian constitution, said the official. The conference will be attended by representatives of federation subjects, the federal legislative and executive power bodies, political parties and movements, delegated on an equal basis.

In this connection, the procedure and terms of adoption of the constitution become especially important. Conference participants believe this process must be legitimate. The adoption of constitutional decisions cannot be an exclusive right of the congress of people's deputies under current conditions, they stressed.

Komi Leadership Calls For Single Draft Constitution

LD1805181093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1758 GMT 18 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Makarov]

[Text] Syktyvkar May 18 TASS—A joint meeting of the Komi Supreme Soviet Presidium, the Council of Ministers, chairmen of councils and heads of city and regional administrations called today for termination of political confrontation in Russia caused by opposition of the two official constitutional drafts (elaborated by the president and the parliament correspondingly).

The meeting decided to address Russian President Boris Yeltsin with a proposal to create a working body to make a single draft new Russian constitution on the basis of both drafts. The single draft should be sent to Russian regions for broad discussion, they said.

A reasonable period of time should be given for this, since the term set by the Russian president is unreal for universal discussion of the new constitution, they noted.

A meeting resolution also offers to create a team of experts, to include representatives of federation subjects, to improve the draft new fundamental law.

The meeting also discussed and put forward some amendments to be submitted to the Russian president. They mainly concern the constitutional confirmation of rights of Russian Republics as sovereign states and fulfilment of their sovereignty, including the preservation of the right of nations to self-determination. Meeting participants insist on including the federal treaty in the new constitution as its major part.

Altay Submits Proposal on Constitutional Commission

LD1805180893 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1430 GMT 18 May 93

[Text] While accepting that adoption of a new constitution for the Russian Federation is necessary, an extraordinary session of the Altay Kray Soviet of People's Deputies, that took place today, noted that neither of the drafts for a new constitution fully correspond to the principles of a democratic, lawful, federal state. Citizens and their freedom should be a priority laid down as the basis [of the constitution].

As a legislative initiative, the session has submitted a proposal to the Supreme Soviet and the president of Russia to broaden the composition of the Constitutional Commission to include plenipotentiary representatives of the subjects of the Russian Federation.

Vice Premier Yarov Arrives in Bashkiria

LD1805203693 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 18 May 93

[By correspondent A. Boykov from Bashkiria, including recording of remarks to journalists by Russian Vice Premier Yuriy Yarov; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Yuriy Yarov, vice premier of the Russian Federation, has arrived for talks in the capital of the republic of Bashkiria. As head of a Russian government delegation, he will take part in the next round of talks on concluding an inter-state agreement arising from the additions to the federation treaty between the Russian Federation and Bashkiria. One other matter is no less crucial—discussion and elucidation of the clauses of the draft constitution, especially as Bashkiria is one of the 12 Russian republics whose heads signed a statement virtually rejecting the basic points of the president's draft constitution. But today, a cheerful vice premier sees no tragedy in the existence of this statement.

[Yarov] This is a normal path, because first we have to go through the first part which everyone agrees on—what do we have to do, we have to discuss, we have to examine, we have our changes, and in this way we will get a document which is objective, vital, or objectively reflects all the interests of all the subjects of the Federation.

Stavropol Conference Favors Single Draft of Constitution

LD1805213993 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 18 May 93

[Text] Leaders of the North Caucasus republics, Stavropol kray, Kuban, and Don discussed the draft constitutions of Russia in Stavropol on 18 May. They spoke in favor of discussing and adopting a new constitution on a constitutional basis. This is mentioned in a statement adopted at the conference. The statement stressed that a single draft constitution drawn up on the basis of the president's and Supreme Soviet's drafts should be discussed.

Discusses Federation Treaty

LD1805221893 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 18 May 93

[Text] The first day of talks between the Bashkortostan leadership and a Russian Government delegation, led by Deputy Prime Minister Yuriy Yarov, was business-like and constructive. The mechanism for implementing the Federation Treaty was discussed. The talks will continue today. A conference to discuss the draft constitution will also be held.

Yeltsin-Nominated Candidate Elected Head of Primorye

LD1905082093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0653 GMT 19 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yuriy Grachev]

[Text] Vladivostok May 19 TASS—Yevgeniy Nazdratenko was elected head of the far-eastern maritime territory of Primorye, polling an overwhelming majority of the votes (147 against 11) at a session of the regional Council of People's Deputies on Wednesday.

His candidacy was put forward by Russian President Boris Yeltsin. Nazdratenko, 44, is the chairman of the "Vostok" mining company and a people's deputy of Russia.

There were no acute debates on his candidacy at the session. The people's deputies, who took the floor, unanimously noted that Nazdratenko had succeeded in turning the "Vostok" company into an exemplary enterprise. They expressed hope that the newly elected head of Primorye administration would enable the maritime territory to get out of the prolonged crisis.

It was good of the Russian president to take the people's opinion into account and meet their wishes halfway by proposing the candidacy of the efficient businessman and reformer, they said.

National Affairs

Kuchma Urges Parliament To Extend Emergency Powers

LD1805121193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1121 GMT 18 May 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Aleksandr Litvinov for TASS]

[Text] Kiev May 18 TASS—Ukrainian Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma has called upon the parliament to support government measures to take the Ukrainian economy out of the crisis and extend emergency powers given to the government. Kuchma addressed the Ukrainian parliament on Tuesday, providing information on the socio-political situation in Ukraine and ways out of the economic crisis.

The Ukrainian prime minister critically assessed the situation in the economy and measures taken by the cabinet of ministers for its stabilisation. He suggested that the Ukrainian National Bank, an anti-monopoly committee and the foundation of state property be subordinate to the government in order to successfully follow the chosen course.

Speaking about priority measures by the cabinet of ministers, the prime minister mentioned tightening credit policy, accelerated privatisation of minor and medium-size enterprises, liberalisation of foreign economic activities, the reform of banking system, technical modernization of industrial enterprises involving foreign investments, the establishment of free economic zones and social welfare of the population.

Kuchma Warns of More Belt-Tightening

PM1805143193 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 May 93 p 2

[Interview with Premier Leonid Kuchma by correspondent Viktor Drozd in Kiev; date not given: "Leonid Kuchma: 'I Have Never Deceived People'"]

[Text] The Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers' emergency powers are about to expire. The closer the "day of reckoning," the more troubled the Supreme Soviet and society become. Although their reasons for agitation are different (parliamentarians are preoccupied with the extent of their personal responsibility, while people are alarmed over the future), universal concern is growing: The economic situation in Ukraine is deteriorating and it is hard to tell what "fruits" will result. How does government head Leonid Kuchma assess the situation?

[Kuchma] From the moment that I took up my new post I warned that we would only have a better life once we had gotten down to work. Everyone together, from top to bottom. Including the government, the Supreme Soviet, and the president. We asked for emergency powers because that was the kind of work for which we were hoping. We had reached a point where there was no other option. We had to leave aside political games and all knuckle down.

At first glance we were given the powers. But from the way in which this was done (without particular disputes, as if in relief) you might have thought that some people were moving aside with a grin saying: Have a go, let us see what you achieve. And flattering compliments were thrown in at the same time: The supposedly "highly educated" and democratic incumbent government is reminiscent of a "kamikaze pilot," it has mustered such Don Quixotes... But it was by no means windmills that had to be "tilted at."

[Drozd] Nevertheless last year you were convinced that by this spring there would be more consumer goods. Spring can be said to be coming to an end...

[Kuchma] And there are still no goods.... I have never deceived people. But goods will not appear on their own. Definite conditions are needed. And I have named these conditions on several occasions: What is needed is the restoration of the ruptured ties with the republics of the USSR and also with former CEMA countries, tight production and management discipline, and interest from the producer. In short, if we have embarked on building a sovereign state, we must act together. And these actions must be subordinate to the interests of our state. Long-term, forward-looking rather than transient, short-term interests. And the ground here needs to be thoroughly prepared. Not only in the economy. Strong state backing for science and culture is needed. That kind of work can only be undertaken once we have clearly made up our minds what kind of economy and what kind of state we are creating. There are few formulas that anyone can understand as long as we are wandering in a haze. And you cannot find your bearings in haze. It does not take too long to lose your way.

[Drozd] And people do indeed already seem to have gotten muddled, not knowing in whom or what to believe. Promises give way to promises, while life is becoming more and more difficult. Policy, however, is still made "on high," where things are clearer...

[Kuchma] That is not quite true. I have had a lot of meetings this year. And the same complaints were made at each one: What are you thinking of up there, where are we going? The division into "them" and "us" is alarming. That is not the way for us to make a sovereign nation. Although I understand the origin of this division.

One of the demands made of politicians is that they see people as they really are and things as they should be. To what extent do we take this into consideration? The state sector dominates in the economy, yet ministries have been, you might say, willfully "eliminated." Forms of ownership have been muddled. And what a campaign has been mounted against kolkhozes! I too can see their flaws, but it is not the kolkhozes themselves that are to blame. And what psychological pressure leaders are

under! That cannot fail to leave its mark. People do not feel that they and the state form a unified whole. That is what is alarming.

The following recrimination has been leveled at me: It was promised that you would combat corruption and bribery, but they are flourishing. This recrimination is one not so much for the government as for legislators. They too have now begun to say that they have made it possible to "steal by law" with the laws they have adopted.

We are trying to do what the Cabinet of Ministers can do. But our powers have indeed proved to exist only on paper. There is still no law on the government. However, there are plenty of people who are not averse to monitoring our every move, noting everything down, and amassing "compromising material" for future use. As a result more time is spent on coordination, exhortation, and persuasion than on work. Yet if we are getting down to fundamentals, in my view it is time for all the CIS and former CEMA heads of state or government to meet and decide collectively how we are to survive. After all, everyone must realize that all the world's markets have long since been allocated and reallocated. And no one out there is waiting for the countries of East Europe or the CIS, no one will voluntarily give up their market. So, we all need to decide for ourselves before it is too late how to restore severed ties, how to attract beneficial investors, and collectively at least reach a level where people will start to take us into account.

Each state has its own reserves in many sectors. If we can find a common language, join forces, and organize cooperation, we will be able to stand firm. Alone that kind of development will take longer and cost us far more. Some may not even endure or survive it.

[Drozd] In Ukraine demands are being voiced more and more loudly to leave the CIS, yet you are proposing to revive an even broader economic area.

[Kuchma] But we have no other option. In my opinion, anyone who thinks that the CIS can be viewed as a ceremonial entity where people get together, talk, sign documents, and drink champagne, while you can go about your sovereign business and forget about the common accords, is making a profound mistake. "Reliance on your own efforts" spells ruin even for Russia. I am not talking about other parties to the CIS (or the former CEMA). The solution lies solely in profound, mutually beneficial integration.

I am not naive: Politics and the economy are indivisible. But sometimes politicians overdo things, and then the economy takes its revenge. And in a fairly brutal way. That is the short route to bankruptcy. And to losing independence. In the process of short-term benefit one must not forget the historical responsibility of the USSR, now Russia, for the fate of its "younger brothers." If we continue to act tough, this "operation" will not end well for anyone. We are still repeating our own mistakes. Politics is once again moving ahead of the economy. We have thus not only destroyed economic ties but also, in my view, morally sapped and insulted millions of people. If we repeat over and over that we lived the wrong way and did the wrong thing, who is going think about the common interest? More likely, like Korneychuk's Galushko [reference unknown], they will rush to make a prosperous life for themselves. Those who can, of course.

I have repeatedly been told at meetings: Some directors and kolkhoz chairmen start out with a "prosperous life": They build residences, they invest capital profitably in various joint and small enterprises. And there is supposedly no one to call the thieves to account: Control has been abolished, tax inspectorates have not yet gained momentum, and law-enforcement organs are sometimes over-cautious. The upshot is that the people's property is squandered and looted before their eyes. If you add to that the fact that a very long time has been spent fussing over a "protocol of intent" to leave the ruble zone, the causes of the current tricky situation are even more understandable.

[Drozd] What about the Western aid of which so much has been said?

[Kuchma] Those who relied on that remind me of people who have invited themselves along as guests when everyone has already been sitting at table for a long time. Their heads swam with sovereignty and they hoped that someone would jump up from their seat and give it up to us. The misconception cost them dear. While promoting the process of sovereignization, the West is making aid dependent on the extent to which we abide by the rules that have been prescribed for us. Yet these rules violate national interests in one way or another. In short, we must decide what we value more—true independence or the position of a supplier of raw materials, submissive children in the world alignment of forces.

[Drozd] What is the solution then?

[Kuchma] As soon as we embarked on building an autonomous state, we should have considered all the possible options from the very outset. We started off by bragging how rich we are. We published figures for Ukraine's exports. And kept quiet about how much Ukraine receives in return and about what would happen if these "streams" suddenly dried up. We dropped hints that we needed the CIS until we were well and truly on our own two feet, and then we could "wave good-bye" to our partners. That is, the political games had gone beyond common sense. Even beyond forward-looking policy based on many years' experience. The upshot was that we ended up in the situation we are in now.

Whatever government came along, things would have continued to deteriorate. It would be forced to pay for politicians' previous populism, shortsightedness, and personal interests. That is why we immediately have to work out where our riches lie, how much we owe and to whom, who owes us and how much, and, based on reality, start living according to our means. As every family does. We could even have to take emergency

economy measures. That step is certainly unpopular, it will not increase "love" for the government, and belts will have to be tightened still further. But everyone needs to tighten their belts, not only those who do not have enough holes on their belt. And, importantly, people must know why they are suffering.

If people believe that it is their government, that it serves the interests of the millions, not just the rich, the millions will support that government and will agree to suffer. That is, people should be specifically aware, not just from slogans, what each one of them will gain from state independence. Only then will we be able to preserve our statehood and be able to look worthy in the world community. That is the only kind of state that people will solidly back....

Plant Director Calls For Ending Nuclear Moratorium

AU1805161693 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 15 May 93 p 4

[Interview with Viktor Sapronov, director of the Khmelnytskyy Atomic Electric Power Plant and president of the Ukrainian Nuclear Society, by Viktor Rozsokha in Khmelnytskyy Oblast; date not given: "The International Atomic Energy Agency Praises Us. Our Own People Condemn Us. Is This Justified?"]

[Text] **Following the moratorium imposed upon the development of all Ukrainian atomic electric power plants [AES], the Khmelnytskyy AES, whose first and only power unit was commissioned in 1987, has, perhaps, found itself in a particularly difficult situation. Viktor Sapronov, director of the Khmelnytskyy AES, who was recently elected as president of the Ukrainian Nuclear Society, tells about the problems of his plant and of the country's atomic power engineering.**

[Sapronov] It so happened that, after the Chernobyl [accident], we suffered the main anti-atomic blow, despite the fact that the operation of our AES did not give any serious grounds for taking such measures. I think that this happened because our plant was a single-unit one, and everybody proceeded from the following simple logic: The shutdown of one power unit is realistic and the losses are not too great. The situation prompted us to gather as much confidence as we could and establish the most extensive contacts with people. We managed to convince many people: The first unit must operate. It operates in a quite dependable and safe way. The situation at the plant is normal.

[Rozsokha] Due to the moratorium announced by the Supreme Council, it was impossible to commission the, practically ready, second unit in 1990. Who benefited from this?

[Sapronov] I believe that it was a small group of people who decided to gain political advantages from this. The main point is not in the fact that Ukraine did not receive large amounts of electric energy. Something else is of significance. Our atomic plant with a single power unit is less reliable. It now hardly provides heat for Neteshyn—a settlement of the atomic power plant personnel. The first unit and the start-up and reserve boiler facility are the two sources that, in winter, if either of them fails to operate, will not provide heat for our little town.

If this happens, the town may have to be evacuated. The possibility that the unit may stop operating during the least suitable period of the year is growing. The operation of the plant with a single power unit also restricts our possibilities in the further development of the town, because we are maintaining it at the expense of the income that we receive from selling the electric energy. That is why everybody is looking forward to putting the second unit into operation.

[Rozsokha] Apparently, more than two years of idleness did no good to the second power unit. In what shape is it now?

[Sapronov] Generally speaking, in a good shape. Although the moratorium has, of course, slowed down the construction and assembly work. We are presently checking the turbine equipment, the piping, and the steam pipes. We are getting ready for yet another control testing of the reactor.

Meetings with Ukraine's president, prime minister, and vice prime minister indicate that our power unit has not been forgotten. Nor have the sixth power unit of the Zaporizhzhya and the fourth of the Rivne AES been forgotten. They are also at a high stage of readiness. This inspires a hope that we will have a governmental order for commissioning the second power unit and will make it operational. Although this may take two years. Taking into account the fact that, during the period of the moratorium, we lost the majority of the personnel who were expected to service the second power unit, we are expanding this work again. We hope that we will receive good reinforcements from educational institutions of Kiev, Odessa, and Sevastopol.

[Rozsokha] This is apparently not your only problem?

[Sapronov] There exist countless problems. However, we are determined to resolve them and to do everything in order that the plant could continue operating in a reliable and safe manner. We are training the personnel and are raising and maintaining its skills. The IAEA specialists, who recently visited our plant, thoroughly analyzed all the accidents at the AES since the time of its commissioning and noted, in all cases, competent and qualified actions taken by our workers.

Together with construction workers, we are finishing the construction of facilities for storing radioactive waste and its subsequent processing. This problem applies to all AESs, but to us in particular, because ours is the youngest plant and we have done less than the rest of the plants.

The Ukrainian Nuclear Society will put in much effort, both here and in Russia, for resolving the question of

processing and burying the used fuel. We will continue negotiations with the leadership of Krasnoyarsk Kray. We are studying the proposals by the French, Germans, and Americans for the construction, on the territory of the atomic plant, of temporary structures for storing used fuel within tanks that may serve for 40 to 50 years.

[Rozsokha] What do you, in the final analysis, lack most: reliable state support, capital, or time?

[Sapronov] Everything is mutually related. However, I believe that time losses are the most irreparable ones. For example, today, we continue working in accordance with the last year's fourth quarter rates—2 rubles and 30 kopecks per kilowatt. This rate does not cover the expenses that are necessary for ensuring normal exploitation of all plants, safety at them, and a quiet social atmosphere within collectives. Since November 1992, we have been appealing to the government with a request to revise the rates, but....

In my opinion, the main task is to find courage and cancel the moratorium on the completion of the construction of new and up-to- date units and to take care of the present atomic power engineering, because Ukraine will not be able to do without it.

Belarus

12th Supreme Soviet Session Opens in Minsk

LD1805211093 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1715 GMT 18 May 93

[Excerpts] The 12th session of the Supreme Soviet of Belarus resumed its work today. My colleagues, Anatol Awcharenka and Aleg Mikhaylevich, have prepared a report on the first day in the parliament. Here is their report:

[Correspondent] This morning, 280 elected representatives came to the hall of sessions of the Supreme Soviet of Belarus to take part in the 12th session of the parliament. First, working bodies of the session were elected and confirmed—a secretariat, a drafting commission, and a voting control group. Only after that, Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislaw Shushkevich began discussing the issues of the agenda of the routine 12th session.

[Second correspondent] As we reported, the presidium had prepared and submitted over 90 draft laws for consideration. Today, an attempt was made to hold a Supreme Soviet session in a new way. What does it mean? First, it means adopting changes to the current Constitution, then discussing the draft of a new main law, and only after that to undertake consideration of the agenda.

Such an approach was motivated by the fact that a number of laws planned for passage at this session will not work fully because it is necessary to change certain provisions of the Constitution. However, that proposal was not supported. Only 80 votes were received in its favor. The same as at the previous session, it was decided to confirm the agenda first. [passage omitted]

During the recess from which the deputies have returned, nothing changed essentially in the distribution of forces in the parliament. [word indistinct] representatives of the opposition, Igar Dzermyanchuk, Alyaksandr Shut, and Syargey Navumchyk were rejected when their candidacies were listed for the drafting commission. As one deputy noted, political emotions once more took the upper hand over reason at the Supreme Soviet and that does not allow the people's representatives to work fruitfully.

We heard once more today that the opposition demands again that the resolution on rehabilitation of the CPSU and the Communist Party of Belarus be canceled. Veterans proposed that activities of the Belarusian Popular Front be banned. Deputy Genadz Kazlow, coordinator of the Belarus faction, stated on behalf of his colleagues that the session was badly prepared.

Besides, the people's deputies received a considerable portion of the documents only several days before the opening of the 12th session, which is a violation of the regulations. During the break, me and my colleagues calculated that several months will be needed to discuss all the issues that were included in the agenda after voting.

A question comes involuntarily: Will there ever be an end to the session that started today? It seems irrational to consider so many issues, moreover to [word indistinct] second-rate ones. The logic of the parliamentarians is absolutely incomprehensible, when they excluded from the agenda the following legislative acts: on [word indistinct] cooperation, on a state ecological commission of experts, and on a draft housing code. The decision concerning these documents is incomprehensible because they all had been discussed in the first reading and had been approved by the same people deputies.

The parliamentary majority also rejected the problems that exist in the activities of political parties and mass media. It is known, however, that life cannot allow a vacuum and may develop in an unpredictable direction. At the end of the first day of the session, when such weighty issues as a constitutional block on the right of ownership of land, the reinforcement of the fight against crime in economic spheres and against corruption, and on the legal position of foreign citizens and persons without citizenship stayed on the agenda, some people's deputies proposed that they return to the rejected issues. [passage omitted]

The agenda has been confirmed. Tomorrow, the 12th session of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Belarus will begin considering the draft laws.

Debates Agenda

WS1805145893 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1200 GMT 18 May 93

[Report by correspondent Mikhail Rudkovskiy]

[Text] The deputies have gathered again in the session hall. It has been suggested that a discussion of [word indistinct] issues and legal acts be held. At the beginning, the deputies had to adopt the agenda of the 12th session. People's Deputy Boleslav Stankevich, deputy manager of the Belarusian Television and Radio Company was elected the Editorial Board chairman. Then a resolution was adopted with regard to the session's mass media coverage. Thereafter, the deputies began debates on the agenda—namely, which issues to discuss first.

Deputy Gennadiy Kozlov spoke on behalf of the Belarus deputies faction and suggested that the agenda be reduced [words indistinct] Kozlov's proposal was chosen for an alternative draft agenda. Deputies took the floor one by one and made their recommendations on the agenda, including the issue of pensions for labor veterans, the national referendum, and others.

In particular, opposition deputy Zenon Paznyak said:

[Begin Paznyak recording] I suggest with regard to the current situation and the mistake made by the Supreme Soviet majority on 29 October that we go back to this

issue and annul the resolution banning the referendum. The second problem: I suggest that the Supreme Soviet's 3 February decision lifting the ban on the activity of the Communist Party of Belarus be annulled. The point is that practice shows that both the CPSU and other organizations of communist orientation have been pursuing an anti-state and anti- constitutional policy. They are opposing Belarusian statehood and independence, as well as the national status of the Belarusian language, which is inadmissible. This is why I suggest that the issue of annulling the 3 February Supreme Soviet decision be included on the agenda. [end recording]

[Rudkovskiy] In my opinion, the agenda is to be drafted by the Supreme Soviet Presidium. The fact that the deputies make their [word indistinct] suggestions evokes a dubious reaction. However, the issues recommended for discussion are quite hot, prompted by the economic, political, and social life of the republic. Is this just a drawback on the side of the Supreme Soviet or something else?

I am inviting Deputy Kozlov to comment on this. What, in your opinion, are the most pressing issues to be included on the agenda?

[Kozlov] The Belarus Deputies' Association has discussed the draft documents to be included on the agenda with utmost attention. If his majesty the law is to be observed, then we have legal grounds to include only 14 issues on the agenda. If we used our memory, we would recall that the 10th session adopted a decision to devote the spring session solely to the Belarusian Constitution. We approached this issue impartially and realistically. We support the Supreme Soviet and the government decisions to discuss the problems that have a large social impact—those of fighting corruption and economic crime and the State Security Committee. We also support the economic package, and a number of social issues.

[Rudkovskiy] Why did the Presidium choose the issues that are being removed from the agenda today?

[Kozlov] The Presidium planned the agenda very poorly.

[Rudkovskiy] What is your attitude toward the referendum?

[Kozlov] The Belarus faction has spoken in favor of putting this item on the agenda. Time will tell. We will act in strict accordance with the law.

[Rudkovskiy] The first issue to be discussed at tomorrow's session is that of [words indistinct], of introducing changes and amendments in the existing Constitution and the draft constitution of the Republic of Belarus.

Moldova

Presidency Issues Communique on Snegur-Yeltsin Talks

AU1805050193 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1618 GMT 16 May 93

[Text] Moscow, BASAPRESS, 16/5/1993—The president of the Republic of Moldova Mircea Snegur and the president of the Russian Federation Boris Yeltsin had a meeting in Moscow on May the 15th of this year, according to a preliminary agreement stated a communique of the Press Service of the President of Moldova. They examined the realization of the agreement from July the 21st, 1992 with regard to the principles of peaceful regulation of the military conflict in the Dniester Zone of the Republic of Moldova from last summer. The parties highly appreciated the activity of the peace keeping forces of Russia, Republic of Moldova and Dniester in the security zone which was created to separate the parties implicated in the conflict, stated the communique. The President of the Russian Federation expressed his satisfaction in connection to the perfection of the text regarding principles for controlling the social and political conflict in the Dniester Region. According to Yeltsin, the document creates a judicial basis for the division of competence and spheres of responsibility of the parties in connection with the process of determining a special status for the region within Moldova and pleaded for signing to quickly commence. Snegur and Yeltsin stated that negotiations regarding the agreement concerning the status, terms and order of the withdrawal of military troops of the Russian Federation which are temporarily situated in the territory of Moldova are performed in a constructive spirit. The chiefs of state confirmed their common position, also shared by the leadership of Dniester, according to which the withdrawal of Russian military troops will be undertaken during the moment special status for Dniester region from Moldova is established. Presidents of Moldova and Russia again addressed to corresponding authorities from the conflict zone to show indulgence towards people arrested during the tragic events of last summer and to transfer their files for examination to the Supreme Court of the Republic of Moldova. By welcoming the creation of parliamentary groups of friendship, Snegur and Yeltsin appreciated their intentions to collaborate in connection with the creation of ratification by the Supreme Soviet from Moscow and the Treaty with regard to principles of inter-state relations between Russian Federation and the Republic of Moldova dated September the 22nd, 1990, stated the communique of the president.

Foreign Minister Signs Cooperation Agreement With Greece

LD1805163893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1536 GMT 18 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Malyshev]

[Text] Athens May 18 TASS—The first Greek-Moldovan agreement on cooperation was signed here today in the course of Moldovan Foreign Minister Nicolae Tiu's official visit to Greece. On the part of Greece the agreement was signed by Greek Foreign Minister Michalis Papakonstantinou. The agreement envisages the development of all-round trade and economic and political relations between the two countries.

Greece, Michalis Papakonstantinou stated after the signing of the agreement, wishes "especially good relations" with all new states. He said that he had accepted an invitation to visit Moldova the date of which will be coordinated later by diplomatic channels.

Parliament Condemns 'Illegal' Tiraspol Trial

AU1805103193 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0920 GMT 18 May 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 18/5/1993—The parliament of the Republic of Moldova has released a declaration to the press regarding the illegal trial in the self-proclaimed Dniester Republic in which six Moldovan citizens are being involved. The document shows the fully abusive character of the trial of "the six" who have stated for the defense of the sovereignty and integrity of the Republic of Moldova, against a maintenance of the procommunist and anticonstitutional regime in the east districts of the republic.

The parliament of the Republic of Moldova, the norms of international law, taking into consideration the principles of democracy, equity, of defending the interests, the legitimate rights and liberties of the citizens in the republic, call for an immediate and unconditional release of the detainees which we consider as "an important step for finding a peaceful solution to the issues confronting the east districts of the Republic of Moldova", reads a MOLDOVAPRESS broadcast.

Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev Interviewed on CIS Issues

PM1705160393 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 May 93 pp 1-2

[Interview with President Nursultan Abishevich Nazarbayev by Oleg Falichev and Anatoliy Ladin; place and date not given: "New View of Commonwealth Needed Today"]

[Text] [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] May 15 is the first anniversary of the signing in Tashkent of the Treaty on Collective Security in which six of the CIS states participated. How would you assess its results?

[Nazarbayev] It is too soon to be talking about the results of the treaty. At the same time, it should be noted that the CIS already has a fundamental legal basis for military-political cooperation within the framework of multilateral and bilateral accords. But there are also plenty of unresolved issues. What are they?

For instance, a procedure for elaborating and implementing a unified nuclear policy has still not been defined yet. Nor has the question of the ownership and procedure for the utilization of Air Defense, ABM, and VKO [expansion unknown].

A procedure has not been established for the working and powers of the established but clearly forgotten Joint Consultative Commission for Disarmament Issues. Accords have not been elaborated for the fulfillment of commitments under START I and the CFE Treaty. It has not yet proved possible to organically embody in the joint security system that is being set up the principles whereby the troops of one state will be present on the territory of another. Apart from anything else, an apparatus has not been created for the Collective Security Council, as envisaged by Article 5 of the treaty.

The fact that all these issues have been left "up in the air" is linked one way or another to the overall political processes taking place in the CIS. That is why it seems expedient to conclude a treaty on the basic principles of military cooperation, which could remove the obstacles to the creation of an effective security system.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] At first glance the Treaty on Collective Security envisages large-scale cooperation in the defense sphere between these six CIS states. Nonetheless, Kazakhstan has come up with an initiative to create a unified defense area. What prompted this?

[Nazarbayev] The concept of a unified defense area was not reflected in either the Treaty on Collective Security or the military security concept. At the same time, it is practically impossible to plan military organizational development, to develop the Joint Armed Forces, to train national armed forces, or to equip military-strategic regions without recognizing the unified defense area. It is becoming impossible to elaborate joint operational plans, to create strategic reserves, and much, much else besides.

So it can be said that the idea of creating a unified defense area supplements the Treaty on Collective Security...

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] But is it possible to create it at the current stage without infringing the sovereignty and independence of the participating states?

[Nazarbayev] We inherited a unified defense area with all the necessary infrastructure and military installations from the former Union. It is logical to preserve it from destruction and to adapt it to the new political realities, when the military threat has decreased considerably and there is no need to maintain military-strategic regions echeloned in depth and powerful military groupings. To this end we require a corresponding legal formulation, as I mentioned earlier. This, I think, would allow us to avoid infringing the sovereignty and independence of participating states.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] You are one of the few Commonwealth presidents to put forward more and more integrating ideas and to advocate the creation of an interstate court, bank, currency... On what is your conviction of the need for this based?

[Nazarbayev] It's hard to answer that question briefly. It is a subject where a lot of academic research is under way. Throughout the many centuries of its history the central part of the Eurasian continent—where today's Kazakhstan is located—has had political, economic, and cultural ties with all parts of the world. And its ties with the northern ethnic groups which are now part of the Russian Federation have never been broken. Some kind of relationship with Russia has always been maintained.

Today's position is that, over the long years of living and working together, our economies were built up and developed as a single complex based on specialization and production sharing. Whether that was right or not is a matter for history to decide. But it is a reality, and we all need to work on that basis. All the more so as external conditions are pushing us precisely in that direction. After two years of "floating free," most of the CIS states are returning to this concept of the historical role of the Commonwealth which we all created.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Do you believe that Russia and Kazakhstan have a special relationship? How would you assess the idea voiced in certain periodicals about the possible formation of a union between the three states of Russia, Kazakhstan, and Belarus in the future?

[Nazarbayev] The relationship between Kazakhstan and Russia has deep roots in history. After the formation of the unified Kazakh [Kazakhskiy] state two and a half centuries ago, these ties were politically formalized in a military-political and economic union within the Russian Empire. This political step by our forefathers can be

seen as the act of the creation of a common statehood. To put it in modern terms, a single economic and defense area was created.

Mankind has now become more civilized, and nobody is stopping us from cooperating closely on the basis of new principles of equal rights and mutual respect.

It is possible that Russia, Kazakhstan, and Belarus realized this before the others, which allowed journalists to talk about the existence of a kind of Commonwealth core. But we should now be talking about the need to ease the consequences of the breakdown of interstate and intereconomic ties in order to prevent the final collapse of our economy, which is hard to imagine as the sum total of independent national economies. Even the world economy has bound states together so tightly that any attempt to change something in one part of the globe has a painful effect in another area.

We can assume that in the future there will be states within the CIS which attempt to maintain close ties between each other, and states which want to ration [dozirovat] their participation in the CIS.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] You recently defended a dissertation on economics in Moscow, becoming a doctor of science. Does the subject of your dissertation have anything in common with the current economic problems in the CIS? How do you, as an academic economist, assess the effect of "shock therapy" and other economic innovations?

[Nazarbayev] It is now becoming clear that existing interstate economic flows, technological complexes, and the overall economic area that had existed previously predetermine the need for a relative amount of synchronization between the economic reforms of the Commonwealth members. This has not been done.

As is well known, the last session of the CIS heads of government passed a decision to set up a Coordinating and Consultative Committee. It is designed to provide a general coordinated macroeconomic policy, particularly as regards credit and the budget.

An economic alliance at the current stage of development is seen as involving a supranational currency and a coordinated policy in the sphere of the CIS countries' credits and budgets.

The question of creating multinational production and sales complexes on a shareholding basis, and of placing the coordination of interstate cooperation in strategically important areas within the purview of the Coordinating and Consultative Committee is an acute issue.

When viewed in that light, Kazakhstan's initiatives are exclusively aimed at creating an economic alliance in which no member's sovereignty is infringed and the overall structures of the alliance will exercise coordinating functions in spheres where some powers are voluntarily transferred to them by individual states. The unification of the states entering the alliance will result in a genuine commonwealth. The other CIS members, which have rejected economic integration, will to all intents and purposes be left operating on the principles of bilateral relations.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Presidential edicts on stepping up the fight against corruption appeared some time ago in Kazakhstan (and then in Russia). What prompted this, and what have the initial results been like?

[Nazarbayev] It is common knowledge that the transition to market relations raises the problem of the initial accumulation of capital, there is a growth in financial violations during the privatization and denationalization of property, and corruption and bribery flourish. The appearance of the edict stepping up the fight against crime is aimed at restraining and countering these processes.

Naturally, law enforcement organs cannot solve these problems on their own. A range of measures is needed. First and foremost, the speediest introduction of a mechanism of civilized market relations regulated by the state. When a corresponding infrastructure is created to ensure the unimpeded and rapid circulation of flows of goods and money—including at the interstate level—and when a law on the state service comes into effect, then the scope for activities by criminal elements will be greatly reduced.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] In your view, what social stance should military people adopt in a society with a market economy?

[Nazarbayev] In my view, the social stance of servicemen—particularly officers and warrant officers—has no direct bearing on a market or a planned economy. Their material provisioning depends on how rich a state is and what kind of army it can afford to maintain. Military people are currently experiencing the same privations as the rest of the population. We are aware of these problems and are resolving them as best we can.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] There is a view in some quarters in the West that, after Ukraine, Kazakhstan is in no hurry to give up its nuclear weapons. What is the actual state of play?

[Nazarbayev] The Republic of Kazakhstan intends to consistently carry out its commitments under international treaties. As you know, tactical nuclear weapons have already been withdrawn from our territory. The dismantling and destruction of silo-based ICBM's is a labor-intensive process that requires complex engineering solutions and considerable financial resources—things that the republic currently lacks. This is the reason why the withdrawal of nuclear weapons from Kazakhstan is falling behind schedule.

May I take this opportunity to mention one other point.

Military-strategic equilibrium is the basis of global stability in today's world—as is a guaranteed retaliatory

strike capability. Under these conditions the CIS' historic mission is to restore this equilibrium and to ensure a gradual reduction in conventional and strategic offensive weapons to reasonably adequate levels.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Acts on bilingualism have been passed in certain republics of the former USSR. Insofar as we are aware, the CSCE Commission once recommended that Kazakhstan do likewise... How successful are you in maintaining political stability and consolidating social forces, different parties, and the population as a whole in a republic inhabited by around 100 nations and ethnic groups?

[Nazarbayev] Under the Constitution the state language in the Republic of Kazakhstan is Kazakh. Russian has been given the status of language of interethnic discourse. The Constitution also forbids any restriction on rights and freedoms as a result of ignorance of the state language or the language of interethnic discourse.

This entry in the fundamental law can be seen as a result of the ethnic harmony and mutual respect among the peoples living in the republic. The language of the nation that gave its name to the state is getting an opportunity for a revival. The state guarantees the preservation of the sphere of use of other languages, and shows concern for their free development.

Clearly, it is also a question of the fact that the republic's population has a good understanding of the value of stability for economic revival, and supports the leadership's efforts to preserve and revive interstate and intereconomic ties within the CIS framework. After all, by preserving the single economic area, we will remove a considerable number of our economic problems and create favorable conditions for inflows of foreign investment and capital. The population recognizes this.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] One last question, Nursultan Abishevich. What is your prediction for the development of the situation in the CIS?

[Nazarbayev] It seems to me that we now need a new view of the Commonwealth and a new constructive idea capable of removing the current mutual distrust and other obstacles on the road to unification. Let us hope that the creation of the Coordinating and Consultative Committee is the first step toward this.

Nazarbayev Congratulates New Turkish President

LD1905104093 Almaty Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 2300 GMT 18 May 93

[Text] President Nursultan Nazarbayev has sent a congratulatory telegram to Suleyman Demirel in connection with his election as president of Turkey. In it he expressed hope that Suleyman Demirel will as always contribute to the deepening of the mutually beneficial cooperation between the people of Kazakhstan and Turkey in the interest of peace and stability in Asia. The Kazakhstan leader believes that due to the high prestige and rich political experience, the new president of Turkey will succeed in achieving greater progress and prosperity for his country.

Transportation Agreements Signed With Iran

LD1805085593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0622 GMT 18 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennady Kulagin]

[Text] Almaty May 18 TASS—Iranian Minister for Transport Mohammad Sa'idi-Kia and his Kazakh counterpart Nigmatdzhan Isingarin have just signed intergovernment agreements in Tehran on automobile, sea and air communications, which is another important step for the development of cooperation between the two countries.

The signed agreements will make it possible to operate regular flights between the capitals of both countries and organize the transportation of cargoes by automobile and sea transport directly and by transit via third countries, such as India, Pakistan, Turkey and others.

Kyrgyzstan

Akayev Arrives in Washington for Talks

LD1905061593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0545 GMT 19 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Pavel Vanichkin]

[Text] Washington May 19 TASS—President Askar Akayev of Kyrgyzstan arrived here on Tuesday night for a visit. At the invitation of the Human Rights Committee of the U.S. National Academy of Sciences, Akayev will attend Sakharov readings and meet with U.S. Administration and Congress officials and the leaders of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

On Wednesday Akayev is to meet with U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher and Secretary of Agriculture Mike Espy. The president of Kyrgyzstan is expected to be received in the White House by President Bill Clinton but a date for the meeting has not yet been determined.

A press release, circulated here by the Embassy of Kyrgyzstan, points out that during the visit Akayev intends to "establish contacts with the new U.S. Administration" and devote paramount attention to the "discussion of the present-day situation in the Kyrgyz Republic, the Commonwealth of Independent States and Central Asia".

Prime Minister Satisfied With Results of CIS Meeting

LD1705132393 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1230 GMT 17 May 93

[Text] Kyrgyz Prime Minister Tursunbek Chingyshev is satisfied with the meeting of the CIS heads in Moscow.

Speaking about its results at a news conference in Bishkek today, he noted that the republic signed all the documents relating to the economic integration of the Commonwealth countries. Chingyshev stated that the introduction of national currencies is one way to strengthen the CIS.

Prime Minister Views Introduction of Som, Ruble Zone

PM1805113593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 May 93 First Edition p 1

[Interview with Prime Minister T. Chingyshev by Aleksandr Ryabushkin in Bishkek; date not given: "Kyrgyzstan Has Left the Ruble Zone, But Not the CIS"]

[Text] Bishkek—Kyrgyzstan was the first Central Asian state to introduce its own national currency.

This move prompted a mixed reaction from the leaderships of Russia and other CIS countries which, judging from the information received, undertook to bring forward to 14 May the summit meeting previously scheduled for the end of this month. I asked republic Prime Minister T. Chingyshev to clarify the Kyrgyzstan Government's position ahead of this meeting.

[Ryabushkin] Tursunbek Chingyshevich, will Kyrgyzstan become the main hero of the forthcoming conference of Commonwealth heads of states and governments?

[Chingyshev] I do not think there is any need to dramatize the situation, or rather to politicize it. Our decision to introduce the som will in no way reflect on the Commonwealth's economic position. Particularly as the republic made no particular secret of this, informing the state leaders of its intentions in advance. It was a matter for the parliament alone, which gave us the "green light" at a recent session.

It is our deep-seated conviction that the introduction of the national currency is an inevitable path along which all members of the ruble zone must travel. And this is above all in the interests of Russia. Moscow has much to do in order to stabilize the ruble, and nobody should hinder it in this.

[Ryabushkin] Neighbors fear large-scale ruble intervention from Kyrgyzstan.

[Chingyshev] These fears are not justified. According to our calculations, right now the population has a little over 50 billion rubles in its hands. They will, I think, exchange approximately 30 billion rubles for soms. They will hold onto the rest. But the vacation season is imminent, and many have relatives in Russia and other republics....

[Ryabushkin] Do you think that pressure may be exerted on Kyrgyzstan at the conference so that it might remain in the ruble zone, and so that the ruble might exist in parallel with the som?

[Chingyshev] I am hoping for wisdom from the CIS leaders. I think that economic motives will prevail at the conference. Even if our move is evaluated from a political viewpoint, we are not, after all, bringing division into the Commonwealth. We will remain in the economic and political area. As for the ruble, Kyrgyzstan is in favor of its being the supranational currency, and wholly supports N. Nazarbayev's initiative on this.

[Ryabushkin] The national currency has been operating in the republic for several days already. How do you evaluate the situation? It would seem that the population is still playing a waiting game.

[Chingyshev] This is a wholly normal situation, and we predicted it. The people are watching closely. Usually two or three days are allocated to convert money. We have allocated five. The regular technical work is going on. The most important processes will begin after 15 May, when profound economic work will be set in motion. And we will do everything to ensure that the som remains a stable currency.

New Currency Said Complicating Economic, Social Situation

LD1905090893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0824 GMT 19 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Mainayev]

[Text] Bishkek May 19 TASS—The introduction of the national currency, the som, has complicated the economic and social situation in Kyrgyzstan that was not easy as it is.

It became known on Wednesday that Kazakhstan has suspended grain deliveries to Kyrgyzstan. Intergovernmental negotiations to settle the problem began. Uzbekistan reacted sharply to the introduction of the som. The Uzbek Government decided to cut gas deliveries to the south of Kyrgyzstan. The telephone service between the two countries was switched off.

Transit traffic via Tashkent to cities in union republics and foreign countries was resumed just a few hours ago. With the introduction of the som, the fares in municipal and intercity transport and the price of air tickets doubled or increased even by 150 per cent. Government officials claim not to have expected this. Prices of food and electricity rose.

Banking operations not only between states but also in Bishkek have almost discontinued. Many enterprises that have the national currency on their accounts are not supplied with cash for the payment of wages. People who do not have the Kyrgyz national currency can exchange roubles for it at exchange offices.

Only roubles with Russian symbols issued in 1993 are accepted at exchange offices in savings banks. On the government decision, money can be exchanged there at an interest.

In order to buy bread and basic foods, people in Kyrgyzstan have to turn to currency speculators who accept roubles of any issue, but exchange one som for 300-400 roubles. Thus what the presidential administration describes as the most democratic monetary reform turned out to be the confiscation of savings and offered another opportunity of profits for dealers of the shadow economy. Social tension is aggravated by the fact that traders in bazaars who got used to counting hundreds and thousands find it difficult to deal in tens. Traders' life is also made difficult by inspectors who fine those who trade for roubles and confiscate their fare.

Prime Minister Tursunbek Chingyshev believes these difficulties with only last for the days of transition. He believes the som will become strong, that producers activity will be enhanced and Kyrgyzstan will be able to overcome the economic crisis.

Uzbekistan

Karimov, Afghan General Said Working Toward Buffer State

MK1505122493 Moscow NOVAYA YEZHEDNEVNAYA GAZETA in Russian No. 6, 14-20 May 93 (Signed to Press 13 May) p 4

[Unattributed report published in the "Agency Sixth Floor. From Informal Sources" column: "A Buffer in North Afghanistan"]

[Text] According to a former highly placed special service officer, President Karimov of Uzbekistan and Afghan Army General Abdul Rashid Dostum, a national leader close to Najibullah, who at the most critical moment betrayed him and defected to the mujahidin, are conducting talks on creating in the north of Afghanistan a kind of "buffer" republic that would safely cover the southern border of Tajikistan and Uzbekistan.

The creation of a state in Afghanistan's north could be quite feasible since Uzbekistan is interested in this. No less interested is Russia, whose politicians are concerned over the Islamic leaders' expanding influence. Russia is also apprehensive about a tripartite union of Persian-speaking countries—Iran, Afghanistan, and Tajikistan—which would naturally destroy the long-established geopolitical balance in the territories to the south of Russia. One cannot rule out the aspiration of Uzbekistan and Russia to split the Tajiks both in Tajikistan (about 3 million) and in Afghanistan (between 5 million and 7 million), which corresponds to Islam Karimov's wish to exert pressure on the neighboring Turkic republics.

Several facts point to constant contacts between Gen. Dostum and the Uzbekistan leadership: In July 1992 he was in Tashkent for more than two weeks (meeting with Davlat Khudonazarov); according to anonymous sources in the KGB, Gen. Dostum in September-October 1992 met three times in Termez with Uzbek KGB leaders.

Dostum's family is staying in Tashkent on a long-term basis. In Mazari-Sharif the general is holding regular consultations with Russian consulate officials. Finally, he is on record as declaring himself, on numerous occasions, in support of the present neocommunist government of Tajikistan and harshly attacking the opposition leaders .

In private conversations with influential people among Tajik refugees, however, Dostum is showing an interest about the chances for their support in the event he were to act against Islam Karimov.

In Mazari-Sharif Gen. Dostum managed to surround himself with people who have influence in the northern provinces. These are primarily Abdul Kodir Cumin, who in the days of the communist regime headed a provincial committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, and Gen. Nodiri, who describes himself as leader of the Ismailites (in fact he is an ethnic Khazar, a representative of the Turkic people from the country's northeast).

Official Calls For Expanding Cooperation With Iran

LD1505094393 Tehran IRNA in English 0806 GMT 15 May 93

[Text] Moscow, May 15, IRNA—A senior Uzbek official Friday called for expansion of bilateral cooperation with Iran in the field of transportation.

Uzbek Deputy Prime Minister for Transportation, Kazim Tulyaganov made the remark in a meeting with Iranian charge d'affaires in Tashkent, Mohammad Musa Hashemi Golpayegani.

Road transportation cooperation and the establishment of air link between the two countries were also discussed between the two sides.

Tulyaganov voiced his country's willingness to use Iran's roads for communication with other countries.

Declaring Uzbekistan's readiness to participate in Mashad-Sarakhs railway project, he hoped that the air link between the two countries would be established soon.